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Tocando con Tilo en la Fiesta: The Musical Contextualization of an Event

by

Jason Sinkus ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "*Tocando con Tilo en la Fiesta*: The Musical Contextualization of an Event" submitted by Jason Sinkus in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Regula Qureshi
Dr. Regula Qureshi

Prof. Adam Krims

Jean DeBernardi
Dr. Jean DeBernardi

August 29, 96

DEDICATION

To my parents George and Sharon Sinkus. Their love and guidance have always given me the strength and courage to set new goals for myself, and achieve them.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study in the contextual construction of a musical event, and how an individual can affect that context. Using Tilo Paiz, the leader of a Latin Band, as a case study, a closer look was taken at what he does to create a sense of occasion for the *comunidad Latina* in Edmonton, Alberta. Through the emergence of an event called "fiesta", it will be shown how Tilo Paiz leads the *comunidad Latina* towards an ephemeral creation of an ideal community. This thesis shares with other ethnomusicological writings, a desire to understand not only the context in which music is being performed, but how the social actions of a musical performance creates the very context of which it is a part.

Acknowledgments

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis outlines two parallel journeys of a personal inquiry/quest. One is that of an experiential and ethnographic search within the realm of Latin-American popular music. The other is the intellectual grounding of my interest in this music within the discipline of ethnomusicology. Combining these interrelated worlds of academia and the experiential will, I hope, not only establish my credibility with you, the reader, but also situate myself somewhere between those musicians with whom I have performed and listened to over the years, and the scholars who have had the most influence on me through their writings and conversations. Both groups of people have provided me with a number of insights concerning popular music and its performance. This has made me reflect upon my own involvement within the genre. The present manuscript, then, is the result of two years of fieldwork, research, and performance of Latin-American popular music within a very specific context which the *comunidad Latina*[1] in Edmonton, Alberta, call *FIESTA*.

The Journey Begins

My "Latin excursion" began much earlier than when I first came to Edmonton in 1994. It was an evening concert, six years previous, at the Montreal International Jazz Festival, that first sparked my interest in the experiential context which the performance of Latin-American popular music creates.

I remember making my way, along with at least 200 others, to the outdoor stage approximately twenty minutes before the concert was to begin. Many, including myself, were tired and hot from the day's activities and were relieved by the onset of the cool evening breeze. Around 9 p.m., the stage lights were turned down and this drew whistles and screams from the audience. Suddenly, the stage exploded with colorfully dressed musicians and the sounds of *salsa, merengue*, and *cumbia*! By the end of the third song I looked around to see that at least 1000 people had since congregated to share in the infectious music. Before long, I was lost amongst an undulating mass of rejuvenated dancers. We were all moving with the music, with the musicians, and with each other. It was during this concert that I took part in a feeling of oneness with those around me.

---

[1] *La comunidad Latina* is Spanish for the "generic" Latin community, and should not be confused with some kind of organization or league. The reason for using the term in its vernacular is quite simply that this is how members of the *comunidad Latina* in Edmonton refer to themselves.

What had happened here? What had turned this tired, disparate crowd into an energetic, collective whole? I wanted to understand why a performance of a musical genre (in which I had little to no knowledge of, or identification with) was able to draw me into its *communitas*. By communitas I am referring to the term, coined by Victor Turner, which he defines as a state in which participants of a ritual become a communion of equal individuals, and share in a similar experience of "oneness" (1969:96). This experience is, of course, not unique to myself. Scholars like Christopher Waterman (1990), Charles Keil (1966), Judith Lynne Hanna (1983), and Avron White (1987) have also written about their experiences of "a special flow of lived time" (Waterman 1990:215), "the 'high' feeling" (White 1987:206), or the "engendered feeling" (Keil 1966:32) they received when participating in musical performances with friends and colleagues during their fieldwork. Many musicians of popular music to whom I have spoken over the years refer to this experience as "getting into the groove".

In a collaborative work, Charles Keil and Steven Feld write about these *Music Grooves* (1994) which they view as a process; it's the music that grooves (ibid.:23). More specifically, when they say "it's the music that grooves," they are drawing attention to the ephemerality of the music, to one's participation in and experience of it; it gives one participation consciousness (ibid.). Trying to understand the Latin groove (based on Keil and Feld's definition) at fiestas in Edmonton is what initiated the topic for this thesis.

Perusing the literature on Latin-American popular music soon revealed that, until recently, there has been a lack of coverage of Latin-American popular music and its place within a performance context. In his book *Music in Latin America* (1980), Gerard Béhague called for the need to fill this gap. Within the last ten years there have been a number of writings by scholars who provide historical, and sometimes social-contextual overviews of the different genres of Latin-American popular music.[2] However, many of these studies only focus on one particular genre as performed in its country of origin. Since the 1940's, the sounds and influences of Latin-American popular music can be heard throughout the world. Sue Steward (1994) provides an overview of how *salsa* (one particular kind of Latin-American popular music) alone has extended its reach past its generally accepted place of origin, Cuba, to the rest of the Caribbean, South America, North America, and beyond.

Additionally, many of the Latin music groups in North America include *salsa* along with other genres such as *merengue* and *cumbia* during their performances.

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[2] For more recent examples, see Paul Austerlitz (1993) and Jorge Duany (1994) for merengue, Vernon Boggs (1992) for salsa, and Steven Loza (1984) for son.

According to the Latin musicians I have spoken to, there are few examples of "specialty" bands in Canada who perform solely *salsa, cumbia*, or *merengue*. However, it should be noted that because of the panoramic nature of *salsa*[3], groups of musicians who perform different genres of Latin-American popular music are sometimes still referred to as "*Salsa* bands". For the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to such groups as Latin bands since this is the designation which the majority of the musicians spoken to used.

The combination of different genres, and their performance contexts in North America has received greater attention within the last few years. Peter Manuel (1991, 1995), Steven Loza (1993), Vernon Boggs (1992), and Felix Padilla (1989) are among the few scholars who have undertaken such an initiative. However, much of this work concentrates on the United States and the music's international influence. Literature which focuses on a Canadian context has been limited to graduate theses and a few articles.[4] Hence, there is a definite need to continue, and further, the study of these musical performances which are taking place in our own "backyards".

Getting into the Latin Groove

The September following that prescient Latin music performance was to mark the beginning of my undergraduate degree at which time I began my studies in percussion. Wanting to further my knowledge of Latin-American popular music, I wasted little time in learning how to play the different drums used in a standard Latin band (i.e. congas, bongos, and timbales). During the first year of my program, there was a Latin percussion workshop with Memo Ascevedo, a prominent band leader from Toronto. Following a group lesson, I had the opportunity to speak with Memo, at which time I recounted my experience at the jazz festival, and explained my interest in the music. During our conversation, he said something which turned out to be of central importance to this thesis:

> Everybody talks about the contagious and infectious nature of Latin music, but they don't realize that it is more than just the rhythms or the melodies. It's about building bridges, getting people to take part in the feel of the music. The role of the musician is to not just play the music so that others can take part in it, but to perform it in such a way that they will *want* to be a part of it.

---

[3] The term salsa often subsumes other genres of Latin-American popular music (i.e. mambo, chachachá , cumbia). See Sue Steward (1994) for more insight into this multifarious term.
[4] See Lise Waxer (1991) and Annemarie Gallaugher (1994).

I wanted to learn more about this role of Latin musicians, and although I did not realize it at the time, my lessons and performing with different local "world beat" bands were the first important steps taken on my experiential-intellectual journey.

There are many examples in the ethnomusicological literature which advocate the learning of an instrument in order to understand better the music under study. One of the first examples is that of "bi-musicality", a term coined by Mantle Hood (1960). He created a program at U.C.L.A. for his students so that they could learn Gamelan and African drumming as part of their studies. Applied examples of researchers-turned-instrumentalists can be seen in a number of writings. Paul Berliner's ethnography *The Soul of Mbira* (1978) was written from his perspective as an apprentice and performer. Other examples of where the author's involvement in the musical performance played an important role include J. M. Chernoff description of West African drumming (1979), Christopher Waterman's work with Jùjú music (1990), and Steve Loza's *Barrio Rhythms* (1993). Quite simply, according to Helen Myers, learning how to sing, dance, and play in the field is good fun and good method; establishing a close relationship with a master musician is a common and successful approach in ethnomusicology (1991:31).

In a conversation with Steven Feld, Charles Keil comments on the importance of getting into the groove, and understanding it, through music making:

> Getting into the groove means a unified mind-body in social context, in your sound-context relationship to the music being performed. In order to understand what any musician is doing, you have to have done some yourself. Listening alone won't let you connect to the music or to other people. All the listening in the world does not condition your mind-body to *be* musical and therefore to take the next step in listening. Unless you physically do it, it's not really apprehensible, and you're not hearing all there is to hear inside the music. You're not entering it. Participation is crucial. That's why it's really important to me that you're a trombone player, participating in making those grooves, too, and keeping that in creative tension with your scholarship. (Keil and Feld 1994:30)

By learning how to play Latin percussion instruments, congas in particular, I was able to experience firsthand the intricacies of a popular music performance from the perspective of a musician. Additionally, as I would later discover, my knowledge of congas played a key role in entering the Latin scene in Edmonton.

Discovering the Latin Scene

It was not long after I arrived in Edmonton to begin graduate studies that I discovered a number of Latin bands performing in the city. Wanting to immerse myself within the Latin scene, I attended as many performances as possible. This allowed me to familiarize myself with the different contexts of Latin-American popular music found in Edmonton. But of course there is much more to the music than its sounds; music is about process, not just product. As Regula Qureshi states, "music is the acoustic manifestation of the relationship between those who create it" (Qureshi 1994:346). She, as well as other scholars, suggest that the study of musical events should deal with behavioral choices in the decision-making process of participants in the musical occasion, thus contributing to an understanding of the dynamic of context (Qureshi 1987:61). Sara Cohen states that the approach of popular music should focus upon social relationships, emphasizing music as social practice and process (Cohen 1990:123). For Christopher Waterman, the irreducible object of ethnomusicological interest is not the music itself, but the historically situated human subjects who perceive, learn, interpret, evaluate, produce, and respond to music (Waterman 1991:66). Therefore, a focus on where the musical process physically begins, in the hands of the musicians, seemed to be the next logical, and most obvious step.

During the time of this study, there were four local Latin bands performing both in and out of the city. The largest of the bands, called Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad (Tilo Paiz and his Band of Friends), consisted of eleven players (three percussionists (timbales, congas, bongos), bassist, keyboardist, guitarist, trombonist, trumpeter, saxophonist, a male lead singer, and a female lead singer), while the smallest band, called Los Caminantes (The Wanderers), had five performers (two percussionists (timbales and congas), keyboardist, bassist, and a male lead singer). In order to offset the "missing musicians" (i.e. the horns, extra percussion, guitar, etc.) this latter band used a sequencer.

Latin Bands in Edmonton can be defined as a group of musicians who perform the following Latin-American popular music genres: *salsa, merengue, cumbia, punta, chachachá*, and *bolero*, through the above mentioned instrumentation. While Amabana and America Rosa, the remaining two local bands, perform additional material (i.e. certain pop songs and Chilean folk songs), the six previously mentioned genres form the nucleus of Edmonton's Latin bands repertoire. With few exceptions, the songs performed by these musicians are "cover tunes" (i.e. not original material), and represent *los éxitos* (the most popular or successful songs) performed by recording artists from Central and South America.[5]

While attending numerous performances, conversations between and with others present, invariably lead to that of the musicians. Although a somewhat obvious choice, I decided to narrow my focus on the Latin bands in order to have a better understanding of the Latin groove, and what they (the musicians) did to achieve it. In his work *Thinking in Jazz* (1994), Paul Berliner also concentrates on the musicians and how they perceive/conceive the notion of getting into the groove, or creating a specific kind of relationship between themselves and the music, other musicians, and the audience. In a similar vein, this thesis will attempt to provide the reader with an insight into what a musician of Latin-American popular music sees as central to the social-contextual construction of a performance.

Delineating a Context

Before I outline the different contexts of Latin-American popular music performances in Edmonton, I should mention something about the *comunidad Latina* itself. As seen in footnote number 1, *comunidad Latina* means Latin community. When used in this thesis the term will be referring to Central and South American, and Caribbean immigrants living in Edmonton. According to the most recent census tracts (tallied in 1991), there are approximately 7500 such immigrants living in the city. Chileans, Salvadoreans, and Colombians constitute the majority of the *comunidad Latina*. What makes fiestas such a significant event to the *comunidad Latina* is that it offers them one of the few opportunities to come together and appear to each other as an ethnic community.

In Edmonton, there are two main contexts for the performance of Latin-American popular music. The first is local Spanish bars, while the other is what the *comunidad Latina* call fiesta. While there is little doubt that a study of the Latin bar scene would have produced rich ethnographic data, I had a greater interest in the latter context of performance. The reason for choosing to focus on fiesta, I must admit, was initially due to the fact that attending these events typically led to an experience not unlike the one I encountered at the Montreal jazz festival. Moreover, after attending a number of these events, it became apparent that, to the *comunidad Latina*, there was something special and unique about the sense of occasion created at fiestas. While performances in bars take place within a pre-established and pre-determined environment, fiestas seem to have a need to contextually construct themselves. What I mean by this is that a bar is a building built for the specific purpose of housing Latin band performances. Additionally, regardless of the number of people who arrive at the Spanish bar, the event will still take place. Fiestas, on the other hand, do not have a specific building in which to be held. Therefore, the community hall (a common environment) must be transformed into a place of fiesta by the actions of its participants. Hence, unlike the bars, fiestas require the presence of all participants. In other words, a fiesta's existence emerges as it is being experienced.

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[5] Although a grossly essentialized generalization, this description is meant to provide the reader with an overview of what I am referring to when the term Latin band is used (as this thesis progresses, a more detailed analysis of such a group will begin to emerge). Additionally, this definition is by no means unique to groups in Edmonton. There are a number of similar musical groups found throughout Canada.

Due to the emergent nature of the occasion, the best way to understand what fiesta "is" will be to outline an account of a specific event; this will be the purpose of chapter 1. For the present, I will provide a general context for fiestas in Edmonton.

Typically held in community halls, fiestas serve two functions. First, they are meant to raise funds for the group organizing the event. One example of an organizing group is *La Comunidad Catolica de habla Hispana* who host fiestas to help pay for the mortgage of their church. Another is the *Federacion Salvadoreña de futból* who try to raise money for their soccer teams. The second function of the fiesta is for the c*omunidad Latina* to come together and create a sense of "ideal community" (Asch 1988) through the sharing and "sociability"[6] (Frith 1992:177) of Latin-American popular music. This is accomplished through a combination of dancing (for the audience), playing music (for the musicians), drinking, eating, and talking with friends and family.

Since there are four local bands from which fiesta organizers can choose, they are often assured of being able to hire musicians for the event. On some occasions a band from outside the city might be hired, but, because of the extra cost involved, which would decrease the amount of funds raised, this is rarely done. Of the 14 fiestas attended during my fieldwork, six of them had only one band playing for the entire event, while the rest consisted of two groups, and, on one occasion, three (this was the only instance where a band from outside Edmonton was hired to perform), who performed consecutively throughout the night. Without exception, all fiestas had Latin bands as the performers for the event. These musicians are hired to provide a very specific style of music, which, in turn, creates a very specific kind of response from the audience members, i.e. the dancing. As will be shown in the following chapter, each genre of Latin-American popular music is accompanied by a particular dance which the Edmonton *comunidad Latina* follows without question.

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[6] I am using the term "sociability" to reflect Frith's comment that a musical performance is a collective experience which involves musicians and audience; the music both creates and articulates the very idea of community (1992:177).

As mentioned above, conversations with fiesta participants invariably led to that of musicians. More specifically, it often led to the discussion of one particular band, Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad. This group of musicians is generally considered to be the best Latin band in Edmonton and, as a number of audience members informed me, "good at creating a successful fiesta". Rating a fiesta as successful or not is, to both the audience and musicians, as significant as the event itself. It is generally agreed upon that a large factor determining an occasion's success falls on the shoulders of the band. Due to this particular group of musicians' popularity, I decided to narrow my focus of study to how and why Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad was considered particularly apt at accomplishing a successful fiesta.

Focusing on participants within a particular context is not uncommon in the discipline of ethnomusicology. As Gerard Béhague states, "the study of music performance as an event and a process and of the resulting performance practices or products should concentrate on the actual musical and extra-musical behaviour of the participants, and the rules or codes of performance defined by the community for a specific context or occasion" (1984:6). Many contextual studies of music have focused on the influence the context has on the performance, and on searching for the extra-musical influences on the performance practice. However, as Anthony Seeger suggests, "a musical performance is as much a part of the creation of social life as any other part of life, and that the creation and re-creation of relationships through an event creates a social context which influences other such contexts" (1987:83); hence, context cannot be separated from text in general; context is part of the text (ibid.).

In his ethnography of the Suyá (1987) Seeger places emphasis on performance and the enactment of social processes rather than social laws, with greater emphasis on process and performativity. Ruth Stone's *Let the Inside Be Sweet* (1982) is another example which brings together the sounds of performance and the behaviour of performers and audience through a careful study of Kpelle music events in Liberia. The application of such an approach has recently influenced the work of those who study popular music within an urban context.

While popular music studies have, traditionally, placed more emphasis on a Marxist approach,[7] scholars like Sara Cohen (1991), Charles Keil (1992, 1994), Paul Berliner (1994), Steven Feld (1982), Christopher Waterman (1990), Annemarie

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[7] See Garofalo (1987), Fiske (1989), Chambers (1985, 1988), Matta (1988). For an overview of "traditionalist" popular music studies, see Denisoff and Bridges (1983) and Middleton (1990).

Gallaugher (1994), and George Lipsitz (1994) have begun to incorporate a social-contextual analysis of popular events themselves, including those who partake in the occasion. According to Waterman, music and dance of popular events provide a patterned context within which other things happen (1990:213). However, he warns us that "context" is perhaps the most abused term in the ethnomusicological lexicon. Waterman suggests a conceptual reversal where the study is not only on music in context, but of music as a context for human perception and action (ibid.:214). Based on this notion, I will demonstrate in this thesis how the music performed at a fiesta is not just *in* context, it *creates* context.

Increased focus on popular music events has led to a more complex view of an event which is usually associated with "profane fun" (i.e. occasions that incorporate pop music, food, alcohol, and frolicking). In his ethnography about polka parties, Charles Keil views popular dance events as something more than a form of simplistic leisure. He demonstrates that such events can and should be treated as secular rituals which allow an individual to transcend the particularities of mundane urban life surroundings into "Polka Happiness" (1992:103). Fiestas in Edmonton mirror the transformative secular ritual signs which Keil found present during Polka parties: ritual space and ritual time defined as distinct from utilitarian or quotidian space and time; ritual garb and gestures and motions; ritual friendliness and avoidance of strife; and the subjugation of profit to the community-building functions of the occasion (ibid.).

This thesis is taking up Keil's invitation by treating fiestas in Edmonton as an important ritual in the *comunidad Latina.*

Narrowing the Focus of Study

Once the decision was made to focus on Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, I attended all of their performances held in the city, as well as one in Calgary, over the course of two years (12 fiestas in total). During my fourth fiesta I was introduced to Tilo Paiz, the band's leader. Following a brief introductory conversation, at which time I explained my interest in fiesta as a possible thesis topic, we made arrangements to speak the following week in the form of a more formal interview. I wanted to understand what it was that made this Salvadorean born drummer and his band unique to other performers in the context of fiesta. It was during this first interview that Tilo informed me of what he felt his role was: to create an *ambiente* which was conducive to fiesta. Although there is another factor which helps achieve a successful fiesta (i.e. the reputation of the organizers), according to Tilo, it is largely the responsibility of the band leader to create what he calls *unir* (literally to unite, or his more poetic translation "the joining"). This "joining" of musicians' and audience's experiences into one collective whole, is what Tilo considers the ultimate goal of every fiesta.

Based on this conversation, and prior experiences at previous fiestas, I had come to formulate the central question for this thesis: **How does Tilo implement *unir*, and how does this "joining" relate to the emergence of the fiesta itself?**

My decision to concentrate on Tilo Paiz within fiesta was not an arbitrary one. The majority of field informants, including members of Banda Amistad, felt that Tilo was one of the major *jefes* (chiefs or leaders) in fiesta creation. Additionally, focusing on the lead performers of an event is not an uncommon ethnographic practice. One example can be seen in the work of Regula Qureshi who stresses the vantage point of the Qawwal since it is that individual "who converts the musical structure into a process of sound performance, informed by his own apprehension of all the factors relevant to the performance context" (Qureshi 1995:11). As in Qureshi, the purpose here is to provide the reader with a sense of the performer's rationale as it arises from the opportunities and constraints that define Tilo's position in the fiesta occasion (ibid.:136). As will be seen in the following chapter, once a fiesta has begun, it is Tilo who has the greatest amount of direction over the flow and emergence of the event.

Methodology

The information gathered for this thesis is based on two years of fieldwork in the Edmonton fiesta scene. During this time I attended 14 fiestas, 12 of which were performances by Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad. Data obtained from the field was derived from a number of different methods; it began with standard participant observation. Within minutes of my first fiesta, I observed that Spanish is spoken during the event by the majority of its participants. Therefore, learning the language was to be of some importance; this was easily accomplished by taking Spanish classes at the university. My comprehension of the language made it possible for me to "eavesdrop" on topics of conversation and the discourse between performers and audience during the fiesta. If there was any uncertainty concerning specific Spanish phrases, I could simply turn to one of my Salvadorean or Chilean friends for clarification. Additionally, everyone I met at fiestas could speak English quite well, if not fluently. Hence, all the interviews and conversations I held with fiesta participants were done in English; therefore gathering information from informants was relatively easy.

Surprisingly, learning how to dance to the different genres of Latin-American popular music proved to be an extremely valuable approach to learning the fiesta process; it established my credibility and demonstrated my commitment to the study of fiestas to those who attended the events (my knowledge of, and ability to play, congas also established credibility). Furthermore, learning the specific dances for each genre of Latin-American popular music, and the "Cuban hip motion" that goes along with each one, allowed for first hand experience in the participation of the musician/audience relationship.

Between dances, I would also make jottings in my "little black book" about the actions of those around me and personal thoughts about the evening. These were later translated into field notes. As I became more familiar with "the regulars", I began to hold informal interviews with as many different participants as possible (i.e. Salvadorean, Chilean, Colombian, family members in attendance, friends in attendance, young, old, male, female). The majority of these conversations were held during the fiesta itself. However, some led to more formal interviews closely following the event. Interviews and casual conversations with Tilo Paiz and the different members of the band obviously played a large part in my data collection as well. All formal interviews were recorded and transcribed for later reference.

Since I was largely interested in Tilo's perspective of fiesta creation, information gathered from all other informants was used as a context in which to frame Tilo's responses. Instances where audience or musicians' information conflicted with Tilo's were brought to the attention of the latter. As will be seen, such incidents often led to informative insights concerning the relationship between the band members and their *jefe*.

After our third meeting, I began taking conga lessons from Tilo. I must admit, having a reasonable amount of conga technique went a long way in developing relationships, trust and respect amongst informants in the field. With the musicians, it was as if I had paid my dues, and was worthy of having an "informed" musical discussion. Other participants were simply impressed that a *gringo* could actually play congas. My dancing ability often led to a similar reaction.

Not only did conga lessons satisfy a personal interest, but they provided a different context in which to discuss musical processes. It was during these lessons that Tilo explained to me the importance of relating to the band leader, playing for myself and the group, as well as the history of different musical styles. I was beginning to see just how important my musicianship was going to be in the role of discovering a wealth of information concerning the fiesta process.

A significant breakthrough in my fieldwork occurred around the time of my fifth lesson with Tilo. Although our interviews and lessons were providing valuable information, I felt that Tilo was, for one reason or another, holding back information during our conversations. At first I thought it was due to unfamiliarity with one another. I later discovered, much to my embarrassment, that Tilo's reservations were the result of a language barrier. Our conversations had always been in English, but, as I got to know Tilo better over the first six months, I realized that he rarely spoke English, and only did so when it was required. Indeed, during my relationship with him, the majority of Tilo's English conversations were limited to myself and the other non-Spanish speaking members of his band. Hence, when I asked Tilo if he would feel more comfortable if we had a translator during our interviews, he was immediately put at ease. As he explained to me, although he could converse relatively well in English, there were times where he could better communicate his ideas in Spanish. Having the opportunity to explain certain points in Spanish assured Tilo that his comments during our conversations would not be misunderstood, or withheld, simply because he could not say it as effectively in English. For the next interview, I offered to bring my Salvadorean friend, Alfredo Carcamo.

Alfredo turned out to be an excellent choice for translator as he was a mutual friend to both Tilo and myself. This made the remainder of my interviews with Tilo much more relaxed and congenial. I was, however, concerned that Alfredo's translation might add or omit certain key phrases that Tilo might be trying to get across. Much to my delight, Alfredo had prior experience in translation, and assured me that he was translating Tilo's responses to my questions verbatim. While I did not doubt Alfredo's sincerity, my own understanding of the language confirmed that he was carrying out exactly what he said he would do.

I do not wish to give the impression that from the time Alfredo began accompanying me for interviews, our conversations became a trialogue in which I asked a question in English, Tilo answered in Spanish, and Alfredo relayed it back to me. Although the beginning of our first interview together began this way, it quickly changed once Tilo was aware that I could understand most of what he was telling Alfredo. If Tilo was answering a question in English then he would usually look in my direction, meaning these answers were directed towards me specifically. Tilo's responses in Spanish meant the inclusion of Alfredo, and often resulted in looking back and forth between Alfredo and me, making sure that he was being understood by both of us. Therefore, Alfredo's presence was more of a reassurance so that if Tilo felt he could communicate something more efficiently in Spanish, he had the opportunity to do so.

This is not to undermine Alfredo's help and input for the present work. His presence and assistance at the fiestas, as well as the interviews, was invaluable. During the early stages of fieldwork, Alfredo was able to introduce me to other participants, translate comments made by the band over the sound system or the text of the songs, and generally help orient myself in the participation of a fiesta.

Approximately one year into my fieldwork I began videotaping the fiestas. The video camera proved to be an effective research tool since it was capable of recording visual and aural images with far greater accuracy and speed than my hands ever could with a pen and pad. Considering that fiestas can contain as many as 500 participants, and last as long as seven hours, a video camera allowed me to obtain volumes of information as it occurred in "real time". However, a recording preserves the event in a static form; the notes in a song or the words in a story do not constitute what a performance is. Fiesta is realized in activity, in the temporal sequence of words and notes and action. Performances acquire their reality in their becoming (Shield 1980:105). Nevertheless, in studying communication processes such as dance, music, and dramatic events, the advantages of being able to record and store continuous images of sound and motion for later playback and interviewing are obvious and overwhelming (Stone 1982:52). The main reason and purpose for recording the fiestas were so that I could use them for feedback interviews. This is where Tilo and I could watch the playback of a completed event, and attempt to reconstruct its meaning (ibid.).

After one and a half years into my research, and nine fiestas later, Tilo asked me to play in his band. This was the last phase of my fieldwork. Tilo's invitation came after his son, who was the previous conga player for Banda Amistad, decided to move back to El Salvador. In previous performances, Tilo had invited me on stage to play one or two songs with the band. Now, the opportunity to play with Banda Amistad full-time allowed me to apply, and test, all that Tilo had taught me over the past year concerning the creation of fiesta. During my previous time as a participant-observer, with and without the video camera, I would often stand beside the stage of the performers in order to get an idea of what the musicians were seeing. This was rather difficult to achieve since Tilo preferred that, as a non-performer, I not come onto the elevated stage. Hence, Tilo's invitation to perform with the band allowed me to gain, first hand, a musician's perspective.

Initially, however, this opportunity was not as fruitful as I expected it to be. During my first two fiesta performances I was too involved with the music and the playing to pay close attention to my surroundings. Once I became better acquainted with performance procedure, and with my own musical parts, I was able to pay closer attention to the interactions going on around me. Thus, my experience from both sides of the stage illuminated the integral dynamics of all the participants. Furthermore, with the help of my friend Emmanuel Mapfumo, who had attended just as many fiestas as myself, and was familiar with my research, it was possible to video record those fiestas in which I participated in as a musician.

How well I was able to incorporate my participant-observation (P.O.) skills during my fieldwork will be for the reader to assess. Of course, there is debate concerning the reality of an objective/subjective participant-observer which points out the inherent paradox of the method; one cannot effectively observe or analyze and participate in cultural experiences simultaneously.[8] In defense of my own application of P.O. (i.e. integrating my different levels of participation) I would like to cite Chernoff's comments on the issue. He found that while learning to play the drums during his own fieldwork in Africa, he had to forgo the usual method of analyzing every moment of the experience. "Just as one cannot think one's way into growth, there will be times when one is not aware, indeed cannot be aware, that what one is doing is providing the basis for significant work or discoveries" (Chernoff 1993:14). Additionally, Chernoff mentions that integrating one's experiential participation through performance, with a more "disciplined" observation, "is especially well suited to examine relationships of intimacy and differentiation and processes of individuation and communal expression" (ibid.:21).

Issues of Representation and Creating Voices

Presenting one's findings in the form of an ethnography is of course no simple task. Since the 1980's, it has become increasingly important for post-modern ethnomusicologists to precede every step towards the ethnography with reflexivity and epistemological reasoning. Contemplating one's actions both in and out of the field, and contextualizing the contexts of the research done, is the inception of a well informed ethnography. Two central issues needed to be addressed for this particular work concerned the establishing of voices, and my responsibility towards the primary focus of the thesis, Tilo Paiz.

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[8] See Said (1989), Haraway (1988), and Spivak (1988).

As outlined in the methodology section, there were three kinds of informants from whom I gathered data: members of the audience, members of Banda Amistad, and Tilo himself. How each of these voices were to be represented in the text became of some importance during the final writing stages. There is an ample amount of literature on how to write ethnographies, as well as critiques of them, which offer suggestions concerning voice (see Jackson 1987, Emerson et al 1995, Van Maanen 1988, Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Following a perusal of this literature, in addition to actual examples of ethnographies, I decided to model my approach after Paul Berliner's book *Thinking in Jazz: The Infinite Art of Improvisation* (1994).

After acquiring over 3000 pages in interview transcriptions, Berliner decided to frame his writing around the statements of his informants. Although I had not attained nearly as much information, I did want to have Tilo's voice as the prominent one in the thesis. I kept Tilo updated on my work during the writing of this thesis, and made any changes he felt necessary. Input from the other band members made for few alterations. As far as audience members were concerned, it was difficult for me to revisit with many of them. However, those, whom I did quote, were aware of my research and gave me permission to use their comments in my work. Many of them did wish to remain anonymous; therefore, I left all comments made by audience participants as such (i.e. anonymous).

In addition to information gathered from Tilo, band, and audience members, there was my own familiarity with the field. My personal experience as a percussionist, before studying ethnomusicology and approaching it from such a perspective, left me with a certain feel and understanding for Latin-American popular music and its contextual use. However, it is my intention to keep my own impressions in the background of this study. Much like Berliner, I wanted to begin anew, to make a more formal effort to understand the concepts of others and thereby extend my own understanding (Berliner 1994:4). This is not to say that my own voice is meant to be silenced. Nevertheless, it is Tilo's view of the fiesta process which will become the distinctive focus of my thesis; understanding how he views the occasion, and how he defines his own musical practices, is for both Tilo and me of central importance.

If I am to establish Tilo's voice as the primary focus of the thesis, then it is necessary for the reader to understand the context in which Tilo's statements were given. This requires a conscious awareness of the audience to which Tilo's actions or accounts being used as data were directed. Since a large part of my information came from interviews and conversations, this would place me as the main "receiver". Interviews, by their very structure of interaction, forces participants to be aware of the ethnographer as audience. As Hammersley and Atkinson point out, an interviewee's conceptions of the nature and purposes of social research, of the particular research project, and of the personal characteristics of the interviewer, can act as a strong influence on what he or she says (1995:221). Therefore, it was necessary for me to be aware of the possible effects of my role as audience.

Furthermore, there is the social life and "acting" which occur outside the text. What makes this even more complex is the referential relationships that exists between them. It is for this reason that ethnomusicologists must take responsibility for the way they choose to represent themselves and others in the text; there needs to be a balance between the concrete and the analytical, the empirical and the theoretical (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:257).

The social interaction between Tilo and me is based on a relationship which has changed, and continues to do so, over the course of the last two years. As seen in the previous section, the nature of our relationship has shifted from that of casual acquaintances, to interviewer/interviewee, to student/teacher, to band leader/band member. The one commonalty among all of these is that I was, and remain, a student of Tilo. By the simple fact that I am a seeker of a specific knowledge which he possesses, Tilo has always been in a position of authority over me (especially, as the leader of the band I was performing in). Hence, I do feel a certain amount of loyalty and respect for him, which, of course, will have an influence on the way I represent his point of view.

Although the presentation of my research findings in this ethnography may seem too positivistic, too idealistic, it is not because I have turned a blind eye to many of the possible problems which can occur during a fiesta. As I have just written, my personal connection with Tilo has played a large role in the way I wish to represent him within the creation of a fiesta context, and the way he himself wishes to be represented. This is not to say that Tilo or I deliberately omitted "fiesta information" so that an idealized portrayal of an event could be construed. However, I do realize that my description of specific negative "fiesta actions" or accounts in this thesis always seem to "work themselves out" in the end either through Tilo's actions, or someone else's. Such descriptions should be taken in by the reader with the understanding that it is my intention to represent the fiesta, and Tilo's role in it, in such a way that is justifiable to Tilo, his band members, other audience members, and finally, myself.

The idea that one can "tell it like it is" has long since been disregarded by most ethnomusicologists with the realization that there is no such thing as a pure description; there are only constructions involving selection and interpretation.

Additionally, this "naturalist" approach tends to force the process of analysis to remain implicit and underdeveloped (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995:206). In order to avoid such an implicit analysis, and to avoid overshadowing Tilo's authority/view of the fiesta process, I collated information obtained from audience and band members in relation to that of Tilo's. However, this alone is not sufficient "evidence" to produce an informed view of fiesta since, what people say, and what they do, are not always the same. Therefore, observations made during my different fiesta roles (i.e. dancer, musician, and researcher) allowed for the correlation of "words with actions". Instances where Tilo's notion of fiesta conflicted with those of others, or where Tilo's actions differed from his own statements, were discussed during our interviews, and are duly noted when used in the text of this thesis. Most comments which produced areas of conflict or difference between Tilo and other informants were often due to essentialized accounts of fiestas in general made by either myself or those being interviewed. In the majority of my interviews, with all informants, I tried to have interviewees make comments in reference to specific events. This required individuals to provide a text within the context of their actions.

Lingoes and Languages

Not only is it important to keep in mind the context in which information was obtained, but also the kind of language used in which the information was transmitted.

There are two elements of "data transmission" which should be addressed here. First, there is the fact that fiestas are Spanish events, and Spanish is the language of discourse among participants. Hence, fiesta topics are typically referred to in this language. Since all of my interviews were conducted in English, there were some phrases or terms which "lost something in the translation". In such cases, I will use the term or phrase in its original language with the informant's "closest translation" in parenthesis. In some instances even the literal translation differed from the informants "poetic" use of the Spanish phrase; such examples will be provided with both literal and personal use of the word or phrase. Instances where Tilo's comments and responses to me were made in Spanish during our interviews, and were translated by Alfredo will be indicated by "(trans.)" at the end of the quote.

Second, there is a certain lingo which performers of popular music use amongst themselves; this includes Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad. My own involvement and experience in the pop music scene (playing with bands in Kingston and Edmonton) has led me towards the knowledge of how to "talk the talk". For example, terms like "bringing it down", "grooving", "getting the feel/sound", "clicking", "bottom end", and "dead space" all have a generally accepted meaning between musicians, yet at the same time have specific contextual meaning. When such colloquial or "slang" expressions are used within the text of this thesis, they will be denoted through the use of quotation marks.

In dealing with the different terms and phrases used in this thesis, be they Spanish, pop music lingo, or sometimes both, it was necessary for me to examine not simply what terms informants use, but when, where, and how they use them and how they actually categorize or classify events and objects in specific situations (Emerson et al 1995:126). According to Van Maanen, the ethnographer's task is to explain how members use terms in specific interactional situations and how involved parties differentially understand and evaluate them (1988:76). Ethnographers must discern local knowledge not simply on the basis of people's talk but rather through their "talk-in-interaction," that is, they must notice what people do in relation to others in order to produce specific, situated meanings (Emerson et al 1995:133). Therefore, as an insider to this discourse it was necessary for me to step outside of it so that I could present terminology in such a way that the reader can understand and appreciate the intricate "local knowledge" (Geertz 1983) which underlines the use of these terms in specific situations.

When necessary, the first time one of these "terms" appears in the text of this thesis, its contextual definition will be outlined with a footnote or, if continuity permits, within the text itself. Additionally, a number of the lingoes and Spanish terms can be found in the glossary (see appendix A).

Thesis Outline

In order to understand Tilo's role in the creation of a fiesta it is first necessary for the reader to have a context for the event itself. As stated at the beginning of this introduction, this will be the function of chapter 1. Since each event has its own *sabor*[9] (flavor), providing an account of a specific event will prevent a truncated view of fiestas in general. Relating to one particular occasion, and its examples, will allow the reader to understand and appreciate the intricate "sociability" which fiestas encompass.

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[9] *Sabor* entails the feel, sound, and rhythms of an event or musical style. Many Spanish descriptions often involve reference to food and taste. For example, the musical genre salsa is actually a spicy sauce. Hence a description of, or the *sabor* of the music is often referred to as being *rico*(delicious, tasty) or *sabrosa* (savory). These adjectives can also be transferred to descriptions of dance or people (i.e. *esta rica(o)* means "she (he) has a fine figure!")

Through my interviews, it became apparent that Tilo views the fiesta process as having three overlapping domains: the music, the band, and the audience. Although Tilo sees these domains as extending over one another, he also treats them consecutively. What I mean by this, is, Tilo feels that it is necessary for *acoplados* (to become one with, together as a unit) to occur in the music before he can move on to the band, and then to the audience. Chapter 2 (the music), 3 (the band), and 4 (the audience) will look at each of the domains and how he tries to create a sense of *unir* with them on an individual basis. With this accomplished, I can then reunite the music, band, and audience in chapter 5 to demonstrate how the emergence of fiesta is the result of a complex and volatile web of social and musical interaction.

In conclusion, then, this thesis is my experiential and scholarly study of one musician, and what he does to create a sense of occasion for the *comunidad Latina* in Edmonton, Alberta. It is about how Tilo Paiz, the *jefe*, leads the fiesta participants towards an ephemeral creation of an ideal community, through the emergence of the occasion. Put in another way, it is about how one musician creates a sense of place in which Salvadoreans, Chileans, and Colombians can come together and take part in a communal event: the FIESTA. More broadly, it is a case study in the contextual construction of a musical event, and how an individual can affect that context. This thesis shares with other ethnomusicological writings, a desire to understand not only the context in which music is being performed, but how the social actions of a performance of music creates the very context of which it is a part.

Chapter 1

Fiestas in Edmonton

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, I wish to create a contextual framework for the reader concerning what the fiesta occasion is. By "fiesta occasion" I am referring to a "generic" fiesta. In *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan* (1995), Regula Qureshi differentiates between general and specific Qawwali performances by using the terms "occasion" and "event" respectively. In the first section of this chapter, the fiesta occasion will be situated in relation to the *comunidad Latina* found in Edmonton. What do fiestas comprise of? Who attends them? Why, and where, are they held? These are the questions that will be addressed. Additionally, I will provide a short biography of Tilo Paiz, and, in so doing, situate his place within the fiesta context. With this accomplished, I can then move on to the second purpose, which is to provide the reader with an experiential account of a fiesta event, an annual Valentine fiesta.

Norma McLeod and Marcia Herndon (1980) emphasize the importance of focusing on the "real behavior" of the specific event, not just its idealized behavior. Real behavior is the result of the interaction of players among themselves and with the audience and includes mistakes, dissatisfaction or satisfaction, and so forth. Hence, McLeod proposes that ethnomusicologists study actual performances rather than the ideals to which they may aspire. If the act of performance is seen as "situated behavior, situated within and rendered meaningful with reference to relevant contexts" (Richard Bauman in Herndon and Brunyate (1976:35), then it is all the more important to focus my investigation of the fiesta process on one particular event; it will provide a concrete reference for both the reader and myself, and will prevent essentialized versions of fiestas as they are performed in the city.

Throughout the thesis, I will be drawing examples of "real behavior" from a Valentine fiesta held on February 10, 1996, so that the reader can get a taste of the fiesta *sabor* in Edmonton. Finally, this second section will be prefaced by situating the Valentine fiesta amongst the 12 other fiestas I attended during my fieldwork, and will explain why I chose this particular occasion.

Defining Fiesta

During the early part of my fieldwork, I attempted to obtain an understanding of these events based on the consensus of those who participated in them. Initially I began by simply asking a number of informants "what is a fiesta and what does it mean to you?". As fool hardy as this sounds, it did lead to an important discovery, the usage of the word itself. It was not long before I realized that the term "fiesta" has more than one application, all of which, can be used interchangeably during conversation.

The term's different meanings results from its use in an English context. In other words, when used in the English language by Spanish-speaking informants, fiesta becomes a catch-all term. For example, fiesta is Spanish for "party"; and, as will be shown in this chapter, a very specific kind of party. When used as a noun, fiesta refers to an event where the *comunidad Latina* comes together to share in the creation of an "ideal community" through their participation with the music. However, just as one can attend a party, one can also go "to party"; a number of informants called this *enfiestarse*. *Enfiestarse* refers to the total sum of actions (i.e. dancing, music making, drinking, eating, and talking) that lead to the emergence of the fiesta event. However, when conversing in English, whether it was with me or other non-Spanish-speaking friends, *enfiestarse* was translated as fiesta. Ironically, when translated into English, one Spanish term was replaced with another. Hence, fiesta can be used as either a noun (i.e. "We are going to a fiesta tonight.") or a verb (i.e. "We came here tonight to fiesta!"). When recounting past events, some informants even combined the two meanings of the word into one experiential reference: "I remember last time Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad played, now that was fiesta!" (audience member 1995). In this instance fiesta refers to an individual's entire experience of attending the event.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will differentiate the meanings of the term fiesta in the following ways. Fiesta will refer to the event or occasion itself. *Enfiestarse* will denote the action of "partying", which leads to the creation of a fiesta. The third use, which combines the noun and verb into one meaning, is what I will refer to as the fiesta process.

Why Have a Fiesta?

To begin with, fiestas in Edmonton should not be confused with those found in Mexico. As explained in the introduction, fiestas in Edmonton serve two functions; to help raise money, and to have a good time. Additionally, fiestas offer the *comunidad Latina* one of the few opportunities to appear as such to itself.

On average, there are approximately 1-3 fiestas held in Edmonton each month; they are always held in the evening. Many of these events are annual occasions held by different local Spanish[1] organizations. Some of the organizers use fiestas to raise money to help support their leagues or clubs (e.g. soccer teams, churches), while other organizers send money back to the countries from which they came (e.g. El Salvador and Chile). Whoever the organizers are, the reason for holding a fiesta is almost always to provide further support for, or from, the *comunidad Latina.* Therefore, as many informants told me, instances where a fiesta was held to raise money for personal financial gain are often poorly attended. In other words, when the *comunidad Latina* know that the money raised from the fiesta is "going into the pockets" of the organizers (i.e. the band itself or a personal business) they will be more inclined not to attend the event. During my fieldwork, there was one fiesta which was held to promote the band performing, and as many of my informants expected, few people attended. This, then, leads to the conclusion that fiestas need to provide a shared sense of "common good" to those who partake in the occasion.

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[1] By Spanish I am not referring to individuals from Spain. The term "Spanish" is an English term used by the *comunidad Latina* to generally denote groups of individuals from Central and South America. Use of the word "Spanish" is not unlike the use of "Latin" (i.e. Spanish community or Latin community), and the two can be used interchangeably.

Who Attends a Fiesta?

While fiestas are open to anyone who is interested in attending, they are largely populated by the *comunidad Latina.* This is, no doubt, due to the fact that publicity for upcoming events remains within the *comunidad Latina* (i.e. in the Spanish bakeries, record shops, restaurants, as well as through word of mouth). Fiesta participants can be categorized into three groups; the organizers, the audience, and the musicians. Each have their roles to play in order for the fiesta to emerge. The organizers handle ticket sales, publicity, selling food and drinks, setting up tables and decorations, and booking the hall. This last task is a significant one. Since the *comunidad Latina* does not have a Hall of their own, they must rent one. The majority of fiestas are held in either Polish Hall or Hellenic Hall (centers for the Polish and Greek communities respectively).

The audience's role is also a substantial one, if only by the simple fact that if there is no audience, then there is no reason to continue with the event. It is their social interaction amongst each other, and, with the band, that allow the fiesta to *tener ambiente* (literally "to have ambiance" but often means "to be full of life"). Additionally, the significance that the audience is largely made up of the *comunidad Latina* must not be underestimated. When talking with Tilo and other members of the band, I noticed that when the group was to perform for a "Canadian"[2] audience, they would often refer to the event as a "gig" or "dance". Only when Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad was playing for a *comunidad Latina* would they call the event a fiesta. As Tilo explained to me, "when the focus of the evening is just on the audience dancing, then it [the event] is a dance. When the focus of the evening is just on the band, then it is a concert" (Paiz 1995b) In the upcoming chapters, it will be shown that there seems to be a need for a cultural understanding/sharing of *enfiestarse*. This in turn brings the two focuses (i.e. dancing and playing) together so that the fiesta process can begin to emerge.

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[2] The term "Canadian" is often used by the *comunidad Latina* to refer to an individual who was born in Canada, and is not of Central or South American descent.

The arrival of participants to the event occurs in surges. Those who arrive early, about 8:30-9:00 p.m., are usually members or supporters of the organization holding the fiesta and/or fans of the band(s). The second surge of audience members to make their way to the hall usually occurs between 10:30-11:00 p.m.. These individuals are typically younger in age (16-25); they prefer to wait and see if the *ambiente* has been developed, and, is something for which they are willing to pay the price of a ticket in order to take part in. Generally speaking, this second wave of audience members are more interested in the second function of the fiesta, having a good time, than the event's fund raising aspect. Therefore, a large determinant of how successful a fiesta will be depends on the *ambiente* created by the "early arrivals'" and the musicians.

Through their performance of the music, the bands provide the vehicle in which the fiesta process can take flight. All actions by all participants are framed by their reactions to the music being performed or, as will be seen, by factors which disrupt the music's physical realization. During my first year of fieldwork, the majority of fiestas had two bands performing throughout the night. Sometimes each band had equal billing, which meant they would take turns performing sets of songs throughout the night. On other occasions, there would be a headlining band which meant they would perform the last two or three sets of the evening, while the other group performed the first two sets.

As I stated in the Introduction, Latin bands are, without exception, the only groups hired to perform at fiestas. The performance of Latin-American popular music is what gives the fiesta its *sabor*. This is not only because of the songs themselves, but the kind of participation the music demands. The musicians can control the physical movement of the audience on the dance floor through their choice of repertoire. Each genre of Latin-American popular music has its own specific dance pattern. Therefore, when a *cumbia* is played, dancers are seen shuffling from side to side in a "one-two-three-kick" motion; *merengues* cause the audience to twirl and spin their partners, while *punta*s send participants' hips into vigorous shaking. Each dance is distinct and is respected by its users. Even the "Canadians" who attend fiestas seem to have an innate urge to dance "Latin" when they hear the interlocking patterns of the percussion section of the band. Whether this "Canadian" reaction is the result of a "tropical fever" or just wanting to fit in with the rest of the audience dancing at the fiestas is difficult to know; I suspect it is probably both.

Tilo Paiz

In order to better understand Tilo's approach to the fiesta process, it will be helpful to know something about his background. Born and raised in El Salvador, Tilo Paiz grew up surrounded by music. Both his parents were musicians, and it was his father who taught him how to play marimba and percussion. At a very young age he began playing in his father's band, where he learned the fundamentals of performance and music. His first big break came when the director of a popular band in the country asked him to audition as the drummer. The 14 year old Tilo so impressed the band leader that he asked the young musician to start touring immediately. From that point on, Tilo has performed with, and led, a number of popular and influential bands in Central America; this includes his membership in the famed Latin-Rock group Santana lead by Carlos Santana.

In 1990 Tilo moved to Edmonton. One of the first things he did was to get to know and play with local musicians, especially those in the "jazz scene". After one year in Canada, Tilo began to see the need for a Latin band in the city. This need was for both himself and the *comunidad Latina* in general. Creating Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad was to realize one of his first personal goals here in Canada; "to have a band which the Latin community could identify with" (Paiz 1995a).

Tilo's musical performances in Edmonton are eclectic ones. The majority of his playing is done with Banda Amistad. However, Tilo also has a Latin-Jazz quintet, and a Latin-folk/jazz trio. He also "sits in" with other local performing jazz groups, rock groups, and at open stage nights at various bars in the city. While one can catch Tilo performing with a number of these bands in a number of different settings (i.e. bars, restaurants, festivals, or clubs), his Latin band is the only one of his personal groups employed for fiestas. Although other local Latin bands perform at both bars and fiestas, it is a rare occasion when one will find Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad at *La Habana* or *Club Rio* (the two Spanish bars found in Edmonton). The reason for this is partly due to the expense of having to hire such a large group. Few bar owners are willing to pay for eleven musicians when they have the option of hiring a five piece band.

The years spent with many popular musical groups in South, Central and North America, has given Tilo an extensive amount of performing experience. A large part of Tilo's popularity extends from his ability to use this knowledge and create a successful fiesta. Many have come to depend and expect that Tilo's approach to performance will lead to a strong and continous flow of the fiesta process. Members of Banda Amistad look to, and follow their *jefe* during their performances with the confidence that he will lead them towards a feeling of *acoplados* (to become one with). The fact that a large number of the *comunidad Latina* continuously attend, and are rarely disappointed by, fiestas which bill Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, further supports the notion that Tilo has the ability to draw participants into *enfiestarse*.

Choosing an Event

My decision to focus on one particular event was outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Why I chose this Valentine fiesta as a case study was based on a number of reasons. First, the circumstances of this event conveniently fit within the parameters of a "typical fiesta". Second, Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad were the only performers playing at this event (some fiestas had 2 or 3 bands). This negated the possibility of another band being a catalyst for the success of the occasion. Third, the Valentine fiesta was one of the later events I had attended, therefore I was confident in my ability in knowing what to look for during the event. I do not believe I could have accomplished this within my first year of attending fiestas. By the time of this event I had already been playing with the band for some time and was comfortable enough with my playing that I could concentrate on the interactions occurring on both the stage and the dance floor. Fourth, this performance was one of the few in which I was able to video tape; this allowed for later revisitings of the event. Finally, this event was deemed to be a successful one by all those involved. Although an unsuccessful occasion could have equally demonstrated the fiesta process, the fact that the Valentine fiesta was successful, in conjunction with the aforementioned "reasons of choice", made this event most beneficial for study.

Before relating my account of the Valentine fiesta, I should situate this event among Edmonton fiestas in general. Held annually in February by *la comunidad catolica de habla Hispana*, the Valentine fiesta is meant to raise money to help pay for the mortgage of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (a local Spanish Catholic church). Many of those who attended the fiesta in question are members of this church, thereby creating a specific or focused "community" within the *comunidad Latina*. This is not to say that non-church members were not welcome, or that this was strictly a "church function"; it is quite the opposite. Fiestas are open to anyone interested, which is in the best interest of the organizers since the greater number of attendants meant a greater amount of fund raising profit. In fact, by attending, whether or not they were a part of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*'s congregation, participants were, in a way, making the statement that this fund raiser was worthy of their financial support.

La comunidad catolica de habla Hispana is a group well respected by the *comunidad Latina*. Additionally, *la comunidad catolica de habla Hispana* has a good reputation for organizing successful fiestas. As stated in the introduction, next to the musicians, the organizers play a most influential role as to whether or not an event will be successful. By having a good reputation, *la comunidad catolica de habla Hispana* can be assured of a large amount of attendants, and, according to many fiesta participants spoken to, the greater the number of people present, the greater the chance the fiesta will be *cachimbona* (really good). Hiring Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, whose own reputation for fiesta creation is well established, only increases the event's chance of being successful. The fact that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad have been asked to play at the Valentine fiesta for the last four years attests to the effective combination of these two groups.

The Valentine Fiesta

The following is an experiential account of the Valentine fiesta of which I took part in. The decision to write this section in the "ethnographic present" was influenced by Anthony Seeger's ethnography on the Suyá (1987). Some writers, such as Johannes Fabian (1983), have criticized such an approach because the present tense tends to create a normative description out of an event that may not have been the norm at all. However, I concur with Seeger's argument that this "problem is not with the tense employed, but with the assumptions the use of the present tense is meant to convey" (1987:xvi). His reason for using the ethnographic present is the exact opposite of Fabian's criticism. "By using the present tense I mean to emphasize the particularity of the events, not their normativity" (ibid.:xvii). While I did state earlier in this chapter that the Valentine fiesta fits within the parameter of a "typical" fiesta, it should be remembered that "societies and their actions are always being created and re-created, and that we should avoid thinking of an event as static and continuous" (ibid.). The following description is meant to give the reader some sense of the temporal and social patterning of the fiesta process, as I recall the experience with the help of a video recording and comments of those who attend the event.

It is around 8:30 p.m., February 10, the Saturday just before Valentine's day, when I arrive at the front doors of Hellenic Hall (the Greek community center where the fiesta is going to be held). My friend Emmanuel Mapfumo is with me as he has generously offered to videotape this evenings proceedings (I will be unable to do so since I will be playing with the band). As we walk through the doors, we are greeted by a stout looking man, who, directs us to our immediate left, where a woman from *la Comunidad Catolica de habla Hispana* tells us the price of tickets are $10. After explaining that I play with the band, we are allowed free entrance.

Once inside, I notice that the hall is decorated as it usually is for fiestas. Tables, covered with white paper, are arranged in a "U" shape around the dance floor in front of the stage (see figure 1). Half the ceiling lights are on, and this makes visibility across the hall quite comfortable. On the right side of the hall is the bar and kitchen where people can, after purchasing tickets at the designated table next to the washrooms, acquire alcoholic drinks and Latin-American dishes.

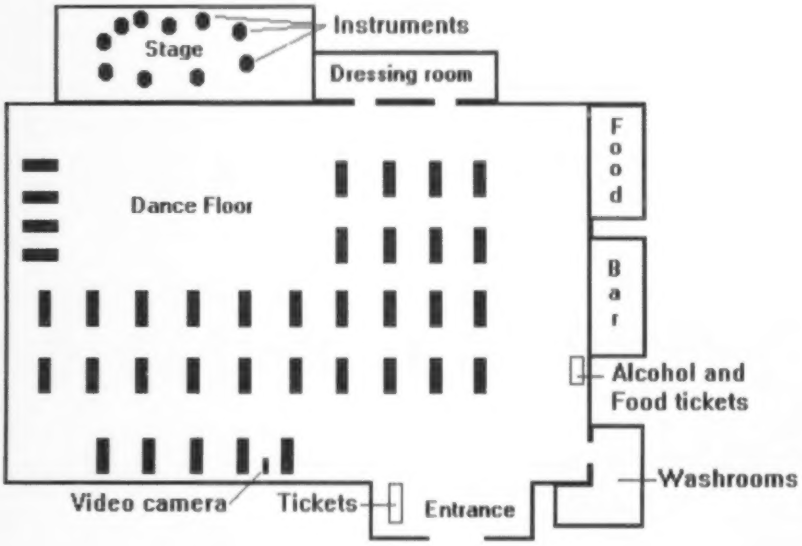

Figure 1.1 Layout of Hellenic Hall

As Emmanuel and I set up the video camera at the back of the hall, I notice that a small crowd of approximately 25 are already in attendance. Among them is Tilo, who sits at one of the far left tables along the wall with two other band members. After going over to say hello, Tilo tells me that he feels that tonight's fiesta will be a good one. The other band members agree. We had just finished playing two dances the previous weekend in Calgary and Peace River which had gone quite well. Hence, we are looking forward to "getting into the groove" once again.

By 9 p.m. the crowd has grown to approximately 40 people. As more people enter the hall, they quickly claim any empty seats which provide easy access to the dance floor. Throughout the night, these seats will be filled in the order of front (front being close to the stage) to back. Many of these early arrivals are members of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* who range widely in both age and ethnic background. Within this small group of people there is already a number of nationalities represented; they include Salvadoreans, Chileans, Colombians, Nicaraguans, and Puerto Ricans. Many are in family "units" with an age range of 6 to 60 years old. Everyone seems excited to see one another and are busy talking, drinking, and eating. Some fiesta participants will have not seen each other since the previous fiesta; therefore, these events offer the *comunidad Latina* the opportunity to come together and to separate themselves from everyday social routines. Many of those present have been talking about, and preparing themselves for tonight's fiesta since the previous week (i.e. buying food and alcohol for the hall or getting a new outfit to wear). Not unlike most fiestas, a number of individuals are in semi-formal attire. Choosing their "fiesta" clothes, and taking the time to prepare themselves for the evening, gives the fiesta a real sense of occasion, and not, as one informant told me, "just another night out".

From the vantage point of his seat, Tilo observes all the happenings in front of him. Using his knowledge of performance, those present, and the band's level of playing for the evening, he writes down a list of songs in a small wire bound pocket notebook. It is from this list that Tilo will choose songs for the first set.

Not long after 9 p.m. the remaining members of the band have arrived. For this evening, there are 10 members playing in the Banda Amistad with the addition of one extra trombone player whom Tilo invited to "sit in" for the night.[3] Tilo is both the leader of the band and the drummer (this entails playing both a drum set and timbales). Roberto is a Salvadorean who has been Tilo's lead singer for the last 4 years. Marco and Patricio are brothers from Chile who play guitar and saxophone respectively. Spanky (trumpet), John (trombone), Kenny (keyboards), and Troy (bass) are all "Canadians".[4] Jacqui is from Quebec and is the female lead singer. Oddly enough, she is not referred to as "Canadian" since she can speak Spanish fluently and is married to a Mexican. Finally, there is myself on congas.

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[3] When my fieldwork first began, Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad consisted of eleven musicians. However, when Tilo's son left for El Salvador, the bongo player also left the band. When I began playing with the group, Tilo never bothered to replace the bongo player, thereby reducing the group's size to 10.

[4] Once again, this term refers to the musicians who are not of Central or South American descent. I should also mention that "Canadians" are often expected to be found in the horn section of a Latin band. Conversely, my own presence as the conga player when I first joined the band often drew quizzical stares from the audience, and even some of the band members.

The First Set

By 9:20 p.m., Tilo determines that it is time for the band to make their way to the stage. His decision is based on the growing excitement of the audience, which he judges through the volume of their conversation, laughter, and alcohol consumption. Dressed in our black suits and colored shirt, with the exception of Jacqui who wears a fuchsia dress, and Tilo, who wears a grey suit with a multi-colored shirt underneath, we all make our way onto the stage to "plug into" the sound system and tune our instruments. Once we are ready, Tilo takes one last look around to make sure everything and everyone is in place. To allow for greater verbal and visual access to all of the band members, Tilo arranges the band around his drums (see figure 2).

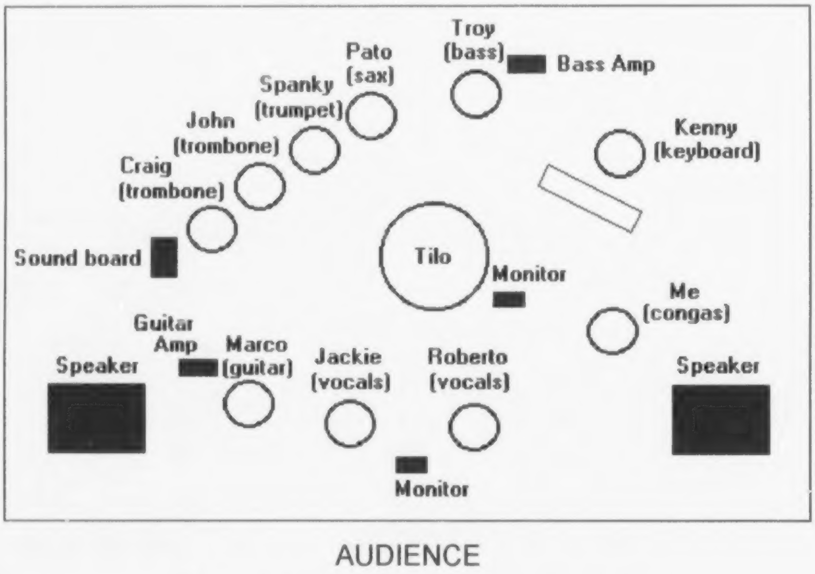

Figure 1.2 Layout of Musicians on stage

Tilo tells the band that the first song we will be playing is a *salsa* called *Rumbera*.[5] As the musicians put their music in order, Jacqui welcomes the anxious crowd in both Spanish and English. Tilo then begins clicking his drum sticks together to establish the tempo, and when he is sure the band is ready, he counts them in with

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[5] A more detailed description of the distinctive features of each genre can be found in the following chapter.

"*Uno! Dos! Tres! Cuatro!*" As the musicians play the intro, Roberto and Jacqui move into a synchronized dance pattern.

Despite the audience's eagerness to get the fiesta underway, their response to the song is somewhat reserved. The first, and only, couple to dance wait until half way through the song. Those sitting at the tables seem to pay only partial attention to the dancers and even less to the band. However, by the beginning of the second song certain events lead to the transformation of this largely passive audience into one ready for fiesta. First of all, the house lights are turned down near the end of *Rumbera*, making the hall a little more "intimate." This draws some cheers and applause from the audience. Second, at the end of the song Pato and Craig go over to the sound board (set up next to the horn section) to adjust the balance of the instruments for both the monitors and the main speakers. The band was unable to do a full sound check before we came on stage, so that the first few songs of this set play an important role in allowing the band to adjust levels which will be appropriate for the hall (through the speakers) and within the group (through the monitors). Third, Tilo chooses to perform a *merengue* for our second song. This genre, along with *cumbia*, is preferred by many audience members over *salsa*. The most commonly heard explanation for this is that *merengue* and *cumbia* are easier to dance to. The combination of all three factors has a marked influence concerning audience participation. Within the first minute of *Muchacho Malo*, there are twenty people on the dance floor, and that number continues to grow as the song continues. Many of the older audience members dance as couples, whereas the younger crowd (ages 13-25) tends to dance in small groups which can consist of either boys and girls or girls alone.

The increased action on the dance floor also has an effect on the musicians. As we pick up on, and feed off of the excitement, there is more concentration on the music and our playing, and less talking amongst ourselves. Additionally, I notice that we begin to move to the music while playing, showing the audience and each other that we are "into it." When the song comes to an end the audience responds with applause and waits on the dance floor for the next song.

After acknowledging the applause with a "*gracias*" Roberto turns to Tilo, as does the rest of the band, to see what piece is next. Tilo calls out a *cumbia*. As he usually does when he wants to keep the momentum going that was built during the last song, Tilo begins this song with a percussion introduction. This allows the audience to start dancing while the musicians get their music in order and adjust the sound system. Knowing how much space to leave between each song is an important part of Tilo's job in sustaining the flow of the fiesta process.

The audience seems to like the song, and the dance floor grows a to about a third of its capacity. Those who are not dancing pay closer attention to the interactions between the band and the audience than they did during the first song. On stage, there is continued concentration on the performance of the music. However, there is a social interaction which is going on amongst the band besides that of a musical one. Roberto and Jacqui continue with their choreographed dancing while Spanky leads the horn section in their own attempts at "quasi-Latin" dancing movements which makes the rest of us laugh. The horns' dancing is a recent thing and hence, brings something new and fresh to the band's performance. When Roberto is not singing he often walks over to Marco and says something to make him laugh. All the members in the band look to each other to give a smile, a nod, or a joke to keep the atmosphere alive and fun.

In choosing another *merengue*, Tilo brings even more people onto the dance floor. The fiesta *ambiente* is beginning to emerge. Yet, just as the fiesta is being taken up another notch, it comes back down again at the end of the song. What happens is that the "dead space" between the songs becomes too long because just as Tilo is ready to bring the band in, he sees that Kenny cannot find his music. Therefore, Tilo has to find it for him. This, compounded with the fact that neither Jacqui or Roberto are talking to the audience, causes a number of people to leave the dance floor.

Once they are ready, Banda Amistad goes into a popular *chachachá* called *Oye como va*. However, a technical problem occurs; the keyboard is not loud enough. Until now, Kenny has been playing through his own amplifier, but, during this song, something happens which causes his volume to drop. Tilo, Troy, and Marco immediately realize this, and Troy tells Pato to get a patch chord so that he can plug Kenny directly into the sound system. Although the song goes along relatively smoothly, it does not seem to have the "edge" which the previous songs had. With the dance floor down to about fifteen dancers, Tilo fills the rest of the set with two more *cumbias*, a *punta* (a Caribbean dance), and ends with a *salsa*. The reaction from the audience is immediate. During the first *cumbia*, the dance floor grows to thirty five. Even the last *salsa* has a better response than the one at the beginning of the set, probably, from the build up of the three previous songs. At the end of the *salsa*, Banda Amistad plays a short two bar melody which signals the end of the first set. The audience recognizes the "closing tune" and quickly clears the dance floor. As we get ready to leave the stage, Tilo gets up from his drum set, turns around and applauds us. He is happy with the first set and gives us encouragement for the next one.

First Break

As I follow the band off the stage, I notice many of those who were dancing making their way to either the bathrooms or the bar to "refresh" themselves. Meanwhile, Tilo returns to his table and the rest of us talk amongst ourselves and with friends and family about the first set. Comments on sound, choice of songs, and presentation are exchanged. Based on these factors, as well as audience receptivity, Tilo now writes the second set list as well as suggestions on how to improve their performance for the rest of the night. One comment and suggestion is to have better interaction with the audience (i.e. talking to them between songs).

Not long after the stage is emptied, two teenage boys go on stage with a CD player and hook it up to the sound system. Soon there is techno-dance music playing and almost all of the younger audience gets up to dance with each other in various groups. This is atypical for a fiesta, since people rarely dance in between sets. However, the music that is usually played through the system is *salsa*, *cumbia*, and *merengue*. Techno-dance music offers "a change of pace" for the audience and something readily identifiable by the younger generation. Half-way through the second song the young boys on stage experience some technical problems which prevent them from playing any more of their CDs. Therefore, they are forced to put on a *salsa* tape which soon clears the dance floor.

For the rest of the audience, the break offers them the opportunity to order more drinks and food, to talk with each other, and to get rested up for the next set. When the band was playing, the majority of the inter-action occurred on the dance floor and the stage; now it is around the tables and the bar.

The Second Set

People are still making their way through the front door of the Hall, adding to the ever-growing crowd (which, by now, is well over 120). By 10:45 the band starts to make its way back to the stage. With more people in the audience, a growing excitement, and the *ambiente* in the air, the band is "pumped" to play. For our first song of the set, Tilo chooses to perform *Ran Kan Kan*, a popular *salsa*. The band "comes in strong", bringing a number of people onto the dance floor. Musicians and dancers alike are getting into, and creating, fiesta. Their body movements become exaggerated, yet controlled. In the middle of the song Tilo takes a solo which awes everyone. The end of the song is met with energetic applause and shouts; some of the band members even turn and "bow" (i.e. bend from the waist up with arms outstretched) towards Tilo.

There is now a definite energy in the air created by the audience, the music, and each other, which *estuvo buena la fiesta* (allows the party to come together). Once again, Tilo chooses to play a *merengue*, and follows it with a *cumbia*; this keeps the audience on the dance floor. The interaction with the dancers and the musicians between songs is more intimate, now that Jacqui and Roberto talk to each other and to the audience; this allows for a more communal sharing in the creation of fiesta.

By the third song of this set, over ninety percent of the audience are up and dancing. They arrange themselves in such a way that those who are more vivacious, or have had a little more to drink than others, dance close to the front of the stage and near the lights, while those who are a little shy place themselves further back in the shadows, away from the stage and out of view from most people. Additionally, friends of the band members dance close to, if not in front of, the musicians. Roberto has friends of his right in front of him who smile, tell jokes, suggest songs and pass him notes during the performance.

In order to slow the fiesta process down, Tilo chooses to play a ballad (a slow song). This choice results in a large number of people leaving the dance floor. Those left dancing look to be husband and wife couples or those who are closer than "just friends." The number of couples on the dance floor is somewhat higher than at other dances. This is perhaps due to the Valentine atmosphere which accompanies this fiesta.

By playing consecutive *cumbias* for the next two songs, the level of fiesta *ambiente* is brought up yet another level. What makes the performance of these two songs distinct is that there is no break between them. This allows for a continuous flow and keeps people on the dance floor. Following the second *cumbia*, a woman comes up to Jacqui to tell her that it is the birthday of one of the audience members. Jacqui announces this, in Spanish, to the rest of the crowd and the band begins to play *Cumpleaños* (Happy Birthday). Tilo decides to finish off the set by playing a *merengue* and a *salsa*; both songs are greeted with a large number of people joining the dance floor and with strong applause.

Second Break

During the second break the two young teenagers attempt to fix their CD player. They succeed in playing four songs before breaking down again. The young people seem disappointed at the shortage of techno-dance music and return to their seats to await the final set of Banda Amistad.

Once again, band members talk to friends and family to see how they enjoyed the set. As he did during the previous break, Tilo takes some quiet time to put together the final set list. With this finished he looks at his watch. The time is 11:45. It is time for the band to go back on stage.

The Third Set

We begin the set with a *cumbia* which brings a large number of people onto the dance floor. Following the next song, a *merengue* which received a fair amount of applause, Tilo calls out another ballad. Not only does this song clear the dance floor but it also clears the stage. What makes this number different from the others is that it is the only instrumental piece of the evening. Only Marco (guitar), Tilo (drums), Kenny (keyboard), Troy (bass), and I (congas) are left on stage. The horns stand off to the back left corner of the stage to listen to Marco play and to watch the audience, while Jacqui and Roberto leave the stage entirely. On the dance floor there are about twelve couples who seem to enjoy this romantic moment with their special other.

Once the song finishes, the rest of the band comes back on stage. Wanting to pick things up again, we go into *Artista Famoso*, a *salsa* which is favoured and requested by both the band and the audience. Halfway through the song, Roberto gets the audience to clap the clave pattern (a two bar rhythm which forms the basis of *Salsa*), coinciding with Tilo's timbale solo. This allows the audience to participate directly in the musical creation of the fiesta.

By this time, the fiesta is in full swing; many are in a state of *enfiestarse*. Within the band everyone watches and listens to the other. The band members are having a good time which makes it easier to create good music and a good relationship with the audience. Through the musicians' smiles and laughter, the audience sees that the band is having a good time, and they take part in this to create fiesta. This, of course, has a reciprocal effect, in that the band sees that the audience is enjoying themselves and feeds off their energy.

Banda Amistad keeps the fiesta building with some more *cumbias* and *merengues*. The event reaches its climax when Tilo calls out a *punta*, which is appropriately entitled *Fiesta*. With an overflowing dance floor, Tilo begins with a percussion solo which sends a wave of excitement over the crowd. One can see the excitement through the vigourous body movements in the dancers and the musicians. At the end of the song, Tilo keeps speeding up the tempo to the point that we cannot play any faster, and the dancers cannot dance any faster. The ending is like an orgasmic explosion which brings out fiesta in its fullest. Everyone is in a state of *enfiestarse*; we/they are participating as hard as possible.

The end of the song is met with energetic yells and applause. For the three songs that follow, the audience still dances but not with as much vigor as they did during *Fiesta*; in fact, the rest of the set seems to be more of a cooling down for the dancers. After the final song the crowd immediately asks for an encore. One of the organizers gets up on stage and calls the band back on through one of the microphones. As we get into place for one last song a female friend of Tilo's runs up to the front of the stage and asks him to play *Cali*, a *salsa* tune. Although Banda Amistad already played this song earlier in the evening, it seems as though the will of the audience is more important and Tilo decides to play it. There are fewer people on the dance floor but they get all they can out of this last song. The band ends with their "closing phrase" and a "*buenas noches...gracias!*"

At the end of the performance, the crowd slowly dissipates back into the "everyday," renewed by the fiesta experience. Good-byes are said with the hopes of seeing each other at the next event. As the band tears down the gear (i.e. sound system, instruments, etc.), Tilo goes around to thank everyone for coming out and doing their part. In relation to other fiestas this particular one was successful. The audience expected and received a good time from *la Comunidad Catolica de habla Hispana*.

Each set of performers (audience and musicians) fed off the other's energy which lead to the experience of fiesta -- a total sharing of ecstasy.

Chapter 2

Tilo and the Music

As stated in the introduction, this thesis examines how Tilo creates a "sense of place" in which the *comunidad Latina* can come together and take part in a communal event called fiesta. However, as the word "communal" suggests, fiestas involve the cooperation and participation from all those involved. Nonetheless, Tilo can only describe this event and its process from his perspective,[1] which stems from over 40 years performing experience with, participating in, and leading a number of different Latin, jazz, and rock bands. Through this experience, Tilo has come to delineate the fiesta as having three domains: the music, the band, and the audience. While his performance of all music entails these domains, fiestas, according to Tilo, require that he creates a relationship with each of the three in a specific order, and in a specific way for the fiesta process to occur. Concerts and a dances are two examples of different kinds of performances where he places greater emphasis on one of the three domains.

The concert typically results in Tilo focusing on his relationship with the band, while, during a dance, there is greater attention placed on the audience. It will be shown throughout the rest of this thesis that for a fiesta, Tilo places equal emphasis on all three domains, and that when he does, this is when "*estuvo buena la fiesta*" (the party will come together). Tilo views the establishing of these relationships as an essential part of the fiesta process. "By doing so I can later *impresionar* (to influence or "be moved to") or *unir*, invite people through the "joining"; they will be more likely to participate in the creation of fiesta" (Paiz 1996a).

This chapter is about the first relationship which Tilo establishes, the one between himself and the music. I will first look at Tilo's ideology of musical performance, or more specifically, his mental approach to the sounds he creates; this entails what Tilo calls a positive mindset, playing for self, and *hablar claro* (literally "to speak plainly" but Tilo translates it as "to speak with truth in the mouth"). As will be seen, Tilo's mental approach plays one of the most important roles in the achievement of a successful fiesta for both himself and the rest of the participants.

The second part of this chapter will outline the repertoire, his resources for musical performance, available to Tilo. As a musician with a vast playing experience, he has a variety of styles from which to choose (i.e. jazz, rock, Latin, folk, and classical). However, the context of fiesta limits his selection to one particular style:

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[1] And of course, as objective as I try to be, this thesis is ultimately my own interpretation of Tilo's perspective.

Latin-American popular music. Outlining Tilo's repertoire will provide background information on the different genres which he includes under the rubric Latin-American popular music. How Tilo relates to this repertoire will also be included in this section.

Finally, I will look at Tilo's physical participation with the "sounds", his execution of musical performance. What I mean by physical participation is how Tilo "properly" (by his definition) executes the music through his drumming. Physical participation also includes his technical interaction with the music (i.e. through the use of a sound system, amplification, and the use of sequencers). Of course, how Tilo performs is directly related to his interaction with the rest of the band, and this will be dealt with in the following chapter. However, according to Tilo, in order to relate to the band, he must first relate to the music. The last section will illustrate how Tilo carries out his mental approach to the music through his playing, and thus participates with the music on an individual level (i.e. not with or through the band or audience).

I should mention here, that, due to a number of factors (i.e. Tilo is a percussionist, my background and concentration is in percussion, and that I was playing congas in his band), many of my discussions and interviews with Tilo had a rhythmic focus. This is not to disparage the melodic aspects of Latin-American popular music or establish any overt biases. As I discovered through my interviews, members of Banda Amistad and other fiesta participants also place greater emphasis on rhythm than melody. Therefore, discussion of, and concentration on, rhythmic aspects proves to be the norm and not the exception.

Tilo's Ideology of Musical Performance

In chapter 1, I recited one of Tilo's personal goals, "to create a band which the Latin community could identify with" (Paiz 1995a). Creating something which others can identify with is,. for Tilo, the product of his relationship with the music he performs. Before playing for others, he must first play for himself. This means that there needs to be some sort of connection between Tilo and the music he performs. According to him this is "a loving relationship which involves a total lifestyle. It affects the way I live and think...how I relate to and perform music is the way I try to live my life; both influence the other" (Paiz 1996c). After getting to know Tilo over the past two years, I have seen how he tries to mirror his positive outlook on life in the way he approaches and performs music.

For Tilo, performing music does not just reflect his personality. He states that "it offers a way to get to know myself better, and to recognize that I have certain flaws as well as certain virtues and abilities" (Paiz 1996c). "Getting to know myself better" refers to the way he reacts to the music and/or other people during different performance situations. One of the most important virtues which his relationship with the music has produced is that of self-confidence:

> Through the music I develop my own personality...the self-confidence which is needed in the performance of the music is what has helped me become more confident in myself. Self-confidence provides the spring board which allows me to get through my performance in music and in life. (Paiz 1996d)(trans.)

I will return to the importance of Tilo's self-confidence in the sections concerning his execution of the music (this chapter), and in the way he participates with other band members (chapter 3). I would now like to turn to what I have come to see as Tilo's most important element of his performance ideology, a positive mindset.

A Positive Mindset

What Tilo attempts to put into his relationship with the music, and considers necessary for any performance, is what he calls "a positive mindset" or, "to approach everything in a positive manner". This is probably the central dogma of Tilo's ideology of performance. When this term was first brought up in one of our interviews, I asked Tilo "¿Có*mo se dice* 'positive mindset' *en español?*" (How do you say ~ in Spanish?). He was unable to give me a direct translation. Instead, he explained what happens when a person is not in a positive mindset; "without one, then it is likely that the performer will *saque de quicio* (literally "to lose one's patience" or what Tilo translates as "to become unhinged") (Paiz 1996b).

If Tilo's method in creating fiesta is through *unir*, then it is imperative that one does not become "unhinged" since this would prevent "the joining". One example of how and why Tilo needed to have a positive mindset during the Valentine fiesta, was in relation to the sound check.

In the afternoon of the day of the fiesta, Tilo had asked the band to come and help set up the stage, and do a sound check. Since only half the band arrived to do so, he was unable to adjust the microphone levels for the whole band. This disappointed Tilo, but as he explains:

> For example, let's say that something bad happens to me. As a human being I have the right to be angry, sad, or upset in reaction to whatever happened...to show my discontent. Personally I don't benefit from this attitude, neither does the music. I believe that my emotional well being

> is most important and I don't let anything or anyone take that away from me. (Paiz 1996e)

If Tilo approaches the music in a positive frame of mind, then there will be little opportunity for negative feelings to affect his performance. According to Tilo, harbouring negative feelings while playing can then "come out in the music":

> The less baggage I have with me, the less there is to interfere with *acoplados*, my 'becoming one with the music'; it allows me to perform better. Performing music shows myself and others that I have the ability and capacity to do this [approach life/music in a positive manner]. (ibid.)

Tilo's positive mindset is similar to what Michael Asch describes as one of requirements for an ideal Dene drum dance: to suspend the conflicts contained in daily social life during the musical occasion (1988:91). According to Tilo, suspending any negative feelings that arose during the sound check, prevented him from "taking them [negative feelings] out on those band members who did not show up, or on the music" (Paiz 1996e). A positive mindset for Tilo, then, is the suspension of any personal conflicts he may have with other fiesta participants. This implies dealing with problems that arise during the fiesta (i.e. feedback through the sound system, or poor acoustics on the stage) in a manner so as to not introduce any negative sentiments into his relationship with the music, the band or the audience.

Tilo's choice in becoming a full-time musician also demands that he remain in a positive mindset. Although he has ample opportunities to play with a number of different musicians, Tilo has not received the "big break" to "make it big" that all artists would like to receive. As most musicians know, one performs for the love of the art, not for the money. There have been, and are, instances where Tilo has questioned his chosen musical path, wondering if a different profession might have been a wiser decision. What has kept Tilo performing throughout the years is his love and commitment to music. As he explained to me, "unless I'm playing, I am not complete. As long as I am playing for myself and keeping myself happy, then I know I have made the right decision" (1996a).

Performing for Self

Therefore, based on this last quote, along with having a positive framework within which to perform, it is necessary, for Tilo, to take himself into consideration first. Arden King reminds us that whenever one speaks of performance, there are always two implications; the performance for self and the performance for others. By King's principle, Tilo, in the achievement of individual personality, becomes a performer for the conscious self. It is here where one finds self-appraisal as a pristine object (as a unique being), as one of a kind and as inviolable (1980:172).

However, Tilo does not see this performing for self as being done in an egotistical way. But he does feel that before he performs for, or with others, he has to perform for himself. During one of my lessons with Tilo he mentioned that "this allows me to put myself into a positive mindset if I am not already in one." Further elaboration of this statement revealed that there is always a chance that Tilo will not be on the best of terms with one of the band or audience members. If this is the case, then by performing for himself, Tilo can concentrate on, and enjoy, the performance of his music which, in turn, enables him to maintain a positive mindset, and minimizes the negative effect any of the ill feelings that may exist between himself and others.

Hablar Claro

For a successful performance, Tilo believes that his first loyalty must be to the music. Every choice he makes (i.e. placement of his drum set, the way he plays a rhythm, how he presents himself to the band and audience, when to solo, etc.) is meant to bring out the best in the music. In so doing, Tilo says that he is being "true to himself and the music" or more generally "*hablar claro*".

This idea of "trueness" is an all encompassing one which entails all of Tilo's conceptualizations concerning his involvement with the music:

> When I perform, I try to become part of the music. In order to do so I must be honest with myself and to the music, or how we say in Spanish '*necesito hablar claro*' ("I need to speak with truth in the mouth"). This is done by performing for myself first and with a positive attitude. When I become part of the music I don't want to come across with dirty hands. I don't want to take advantage of the music for my own benefit. For example, when I'm playing I don't want to be thinking 'I'm getting paid $60, therefore I'm only going to play $60 worth.' This is not healthy, and I'm not being true to the music or myself. It is for this reason why I like to keep the business aspect of performing separate from the music.
>
> If I am true to myself, then I'm always giving others the opportunity to experience a part of who I am. If they catch it, then it is good. If they don't, at least I know that I gave them the opportunity. (Paiz 1996f)

In general, Tilo feels that being true to himself and the music means he must give an honest performance on an individual level, without any hidden agendas. "If I can't be honest with myself or to the music, then how can I be genuine to others at the fiesta? Without honesty, there is no trust; with no trust, there is no basis for a relationship" (1996c). By extension, if there is no relationship, it becomes difficult to encourage participation. More specifically, Tilo's "trueness" comes from performing the music for himself first, playing the music for its own sake (not strictly as a means to make money, or as a way of showing himself off to others), and do this within a positive mindset.

Tilo's Use of the "Fiesta Genres"

Through his vast playing experience, Tilo has accumulated a large repertoire of songs which fall under the guise of a number of different styles, including jazz, Latin folk, Latin pop, rock, rap, top 40, and classical. However, the fiesta context allows only a certain kind of music (which has its own specific kind of participatory effect) to be performed. I am, of course, referring to Latin-American popular music.

Under the title "Latin-American popular music" falls a large variety of genres. However, the nucleus of genres typically performed at fiestas in Edmonton, and, as far as I know, by the majority of Latin bands throughout Alberta and Ontario, include *cumbias*, *merengues*, *puntas*, *salsas*, *chachachás*, and *boleros* (ballads). It is not my intention to go into great detail concerning the melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic aspects of these Latin genres.[2] Although some basic "musical" information will be provided here, I am more concerned with how Tilo relates to these genres, and how he participates with them on an individual level.

Before going into detail concerning the different genres, I should remind the reader that all of the songs which Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad perform are cover tunes (songs which were written and performed by other professionally recording bands). Tilo, Roberto and Jacqui (the two vocalists) all have a say in which songs get chosen for the band to learn. Once a song has been decided upon, Tilo gives a recording of it to Pato (the saxophone player), who then transcribes the different parts for the band. The conga player is the only musician who does not receive any music charts or notated parts, to be exact, since many of the rhythms are genre-specific. Except when performing a new song, Tilo rarely uses music, and when he does, the music in front of him is not a "timbale chart" (a part which outlines the rhythms to be played). Instead, he usually takes a copy of the trumpet or trombone chart. This allows him to see where the "shots" are so that he can play along with Spanky, John, and Pato (the horn section).[3] Once the song has been transcribed, Tilo might then change its form by repeating certain sections or rearranging them. As the band rehearses the new song Tilo will also give it his own personal sound through his style of playing. More will be said on this latter point in the next section.

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[2] See Bergman (1985), Coopersmith (1949), Gerard and Sheller (1989), and Mater (1986) for a closer musical analysis of Latin-American popular music.

The genre most often performed at the Valentine fiesta was *cumbia*. This folk music/dance originated in Colombia but has since developed its own popular style and sound, which is heard throughout Central America (Burton 1994:550). It is especially loved in Tilo's home country of El Salvador. "Tilo the Salvadorean", feels that performing *cumbia* is a way of "bringing a bit of home to Edmonton." For "Tilo the musician," typical *cumbias* are a simple genre based on one, or at the most three, chords (I-IV-V). They are played at a medium to medium-fast tempo in a simple quadratic meter and is characterized by ostinato pattern played by the guiro[4] and timbale player. The piano and crash cymbal place the emphasis of this genre on the offbeat while the bass generally moves in the pattern of a half-note followed by two quarter-notes (see figure 2.1). Given the relative musical simplicity of this genre, Tilo finds that "the challenge in performing *cumbia* is to keep the rhythm alive and fresh. I don't want to get bored in the middle of the song. If I get bored, then I won't give my best to the music, and this will come out in the sound I produce" (Paiz 1996d).

A few of the *cumbias* Tilo chose to perform at the Valentine fiesta had *salsa* or rap sections within them (i.e. the song *La Folklorica*) which allowed for a bit more variety within the music.[5] It also provided variety in the dancing which usually consists of a simple side to side shuffle.

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[3] "Shots" are short rhythmic phrases typically played by the horn section. Tilo, like many drummers in Latin-American popular music and jazz, likes to play the same rhythmic pattern with the horns using his bass drum and cymbals. More will be said on this in the following chapter.

[4] A metal or wood cylinder approximately 1-2 feet long which is scraped along its side with a small stick or metal comb.

[5] The introduction of salsa into cumbias began in the 1940's. See Burton (1994).

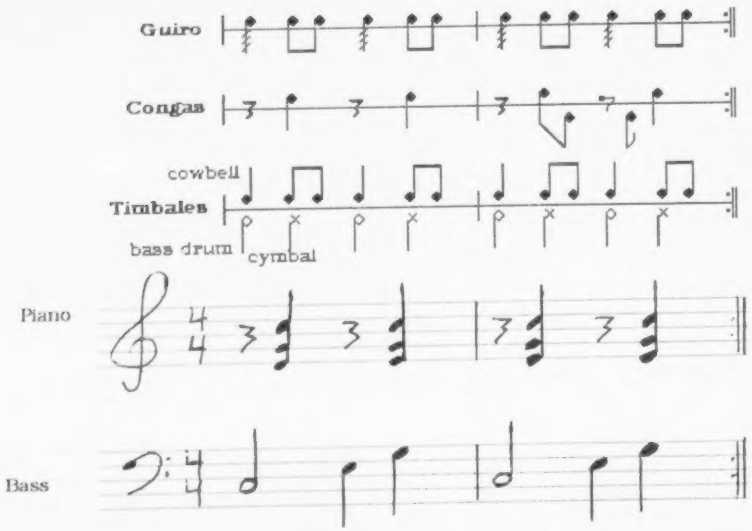
Guiro
Congas
cowbell
Timbales
bass drum
cymbal
Piano
Bass

Figure 2.1 *Cumbia* rhythm excerpt[6]

Merengue was the second most popular genre performed at the fiesta. This genre originated in the Dominican Republic, and has become one of the most important pan-Latin popular musics of recent decades (Manuel 1988:42). Its fast 4/4 pattern, with an emphasis on the down beat (see figure 2.2), keeps dancers close to each other as they rock their hips back and forth and twirl each other in circles. Although *merengue*s can be a little more harmonically complex than *cumbia*s, they usually center on I-IV-V progressions.

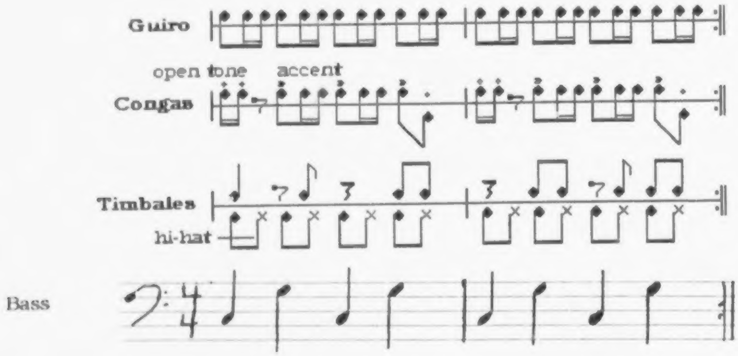
Guiro
open tone
accent
Congas
Timbales
hi-hat
Bass

Figure 2.2 *Merengue* rhythm excerpt[7]

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[6] To hear an example of *cumbia*, listen to *La Folklorica* which can be found on Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad demo tape (1995). A copy of this tape has been deposited in the Centre for Ethnomusicology, Rm. 2-15, Fine Arts building, University of Alberta.

Punta is a Caribbean dance which mixes the styles of calypso and soca. What makes Tilo's version of *punta* somewhat unique is that he adds a "Latin tinge." He accomplishes this by playing the characteristic drum pattern of *punta* with the addition of different Latin rhythms found in *merengue* and *salsa* (see figure 2.3). The *punta*'s quick and lively tempo is matched with a vigorous hip-shaking dance pattern. This is an important genre in Tilo's repertoire since he often uses *puntas* to get the audience into the fiesta mood, or to bring the event to its climax, as he did in the Valentine fiesta.

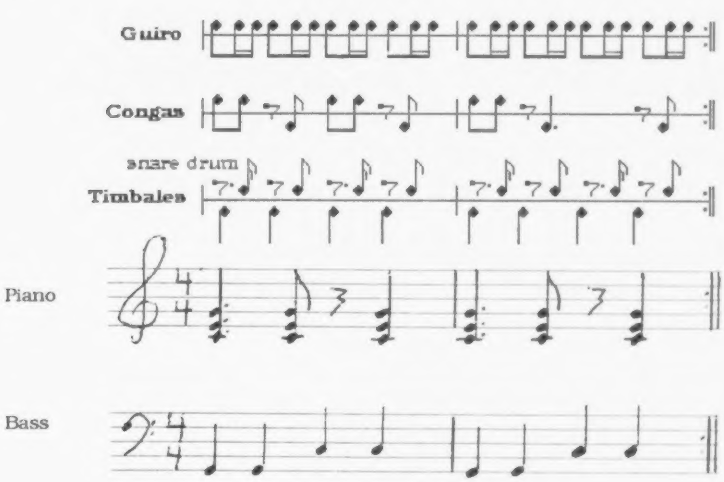

Figure 2.3 *Punta* rhythm excerpt[8]

Of all the genres mentioned here, *salsa*[9] is the most challenging for Tilo. Being that *salsa* is more rhythmically and harmonically complex than the other genres performed at the fiesta, Tilo has more freedom to experiment and explore his playing techniques while performing the music. In order to do this effectively, he internalizes and relates all of his playing to the clave. The clave (Spanish for key) is a two bar

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[7] Listen to *La Ventanita* on Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad's demo tape (see footnote 6).

[8] Listen to *Mete y Saca* on Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad's demo tape (see footnote 6).

[9] Salsa has a long and complex history, and trying to define it is almost like trying to define "jazz." Salsa was born out of the encounter of Cuban and Puerto Rican music with big-band jazz in the Latin barrios of New York (Steward: 1994). Although largely considered a Cuban based music, it is performed throughout Central and South America.

rhythmic pattern played by hitting two sticks together (see figure 2.4). According to Tilo, "all the parts in the band must line up rhythmically with the clave pattern or else it just isn't *salsa*" (Paiz 1996g).

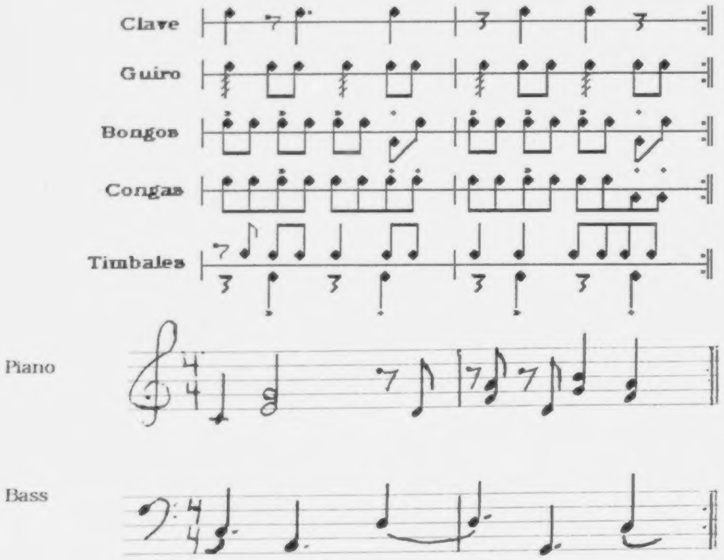

Figure 2.4 *Salsa* rhythm excerpt[10]

Performing *salsa* allows Tilo to show off his own musical ability, as well as that of the band. As was seen in the chapter 1 description, this genre received little response from the audience, the reason being that *salsa* is a difficult genre to dance to. Quite simply, as one audience member informed me, "dancing *salsa* is a lot more complex than *merengue* or *cumbia*. I don't know how to dance to *salsa* very well, and I don't want to embarrass myself, so I just go and sit down at the tables until Tilo plays another *cumbia* or *merengue*." Therefore, Tilo's choice in the performance of *salsa* is more for himself and the band than it is for the audience. This is not to say that he ignores the audience. It is just part of his belief in that "I have to perform for myself too, and not just the audience" (Paiz 1996f).

While *chachachá* and *boleros* are in their own rights two separate genres, and Tilo treats them as such, many who listen to, and perform, Latin-American popular music include the two, based on musical similarity, under the term *salsa*. In his book *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World* (1988), Peter Manuel suggests that the combining of different genres of Latin-American popular music under the rubric *salsa* represents a potential Latino solidarity (p.46). However, I have found that the *comunidad Latina* generally include *chachachás* and *boleros* under *salsa* because of their similar rhythms. The main difference between the former two genres exists in the tempo: *chachachá* is played at a medium tempo while *bolero* is much slower (see figures 2.5 and 2.6). However, the bass and piano pattern for *boleros* are not fixed.

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[10] Listen to *Cali Pachangera* on Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad's demo tape (see footnote 6).

While many audience members will be less inclined to dance to *salsa*, this does not seem to be the case with *chachachás*. For reasons which many informants were not quite able to explain, this genre "allows" the substitution of its traditional dancing style with that of a *cumbia* dance pattern and/or *salsa* dance pattern. Additionally, I have noticed that the performance of *chachachás*, also gives dancers the opportunity to "practice" *salsa* dance steps during the song. As opposed to *salsa*, which "requires" a specific dance, participants can comfortably move between *cumbia* and *salsa* dance styles. In other words, whereas dancers have less inhibitions trying to dance *salsa* during a *chachachá*, they will rarely "practice" *salsa* steps during the performance of that genre itself.

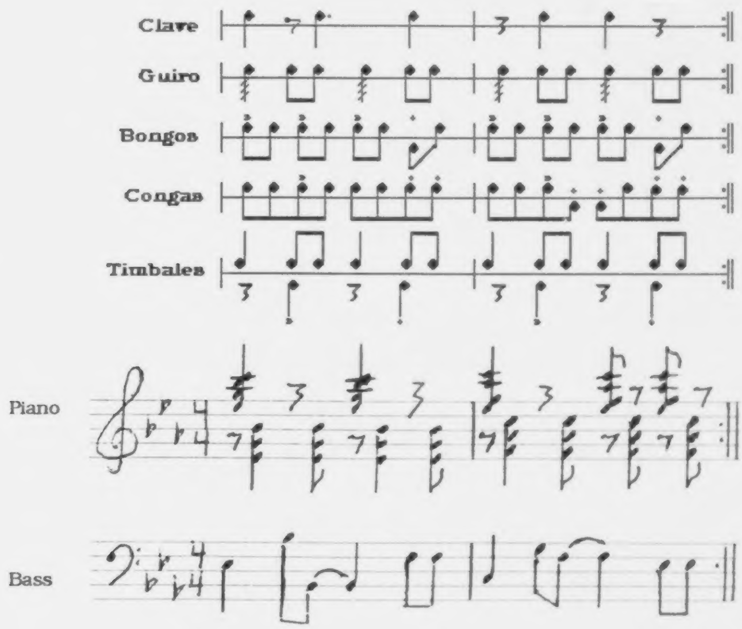

Figure 2.5 *Chachachá* rhythm excerpt[11]

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[11] Listen to *Oye Como Va* by Tito Puente (1991)

Boleros are probably the easiest genre to dance to. One simply needs a partner of the opposite sex, and then moves in stationary circles while holding her/his partner close. However, due to the romantic nature of the dance, this genre is usually reserved for "intimate couples".

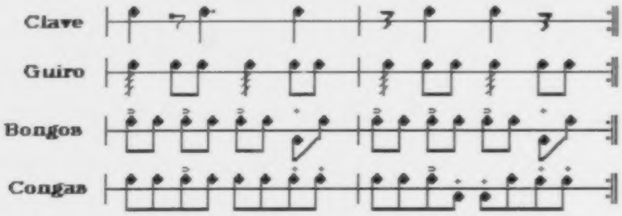

Figure 2.6 *Bolero* rhythm excerpt[12]

No matter what kind of music he performs, Tilo says he has the same general approach; "be true to myself and the music, and be positive in my approach" (Paiz 1996a). However, there is an additional mental process that he adds which makes his performance of Latin-American popular music different from other genres (jazz for example). This involves the dances which accompany the songs:

> When I play these songs I become a dancer in my mind as well as a musician. Experiencing Latin music involves many senses, it is not just aural, it involves your whole body: listening, watching, moving. You have to feel and taste the *sabor*. I do this by not only playing the music, but dancing to it in my mind. (Paiz 1996c)

In chapter 4 I will illustrate how this approach to the music plays an important role in how Tilo participates with the audience. For now, I will look at how Tilo's "mental dancing" comes out in his physical execution of the music, and how it becomes visible through the way he moves his body when he performs. This plays an important part in the way Tilo physically participates in the music.

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[12] Listen to *Bela Maria de mi Alma* by the Mambo All-Stars (1992).

Physical Participation

Using the information provided in the previous two sections, we can now look at how he puts his mental approach and repertoire into physical action. In performing Latin-American popular music there is one element which Tilo feels must be present, *presencia sin aguadar*. This literally means "presence without softening" or "not becoming watery". However, Tilo translates it as "presence of strength" or that the music needs a solid/secure musical structure on which to "sound on." During one of our rehearsals, he informed me that "there is no room for weak sounds in Latin music. Even soft romantic ballads need to have a strong feel underneath."

The way in which Tilo achieves this strong base is twofold. First, there is the mental preparation which was discussed above. He must be able to approach the music with self-confidence, a positive attitude, and *hablo claro* in order to attain what he calls, and what other band members describe as, his characteristic "big sound." Confidence in himself plays a big role in attaining a sound which others (band members and audience) will feel comfortable participating in. As will be seen, achieving his "big sound" makes his confidence audible (by what he calls "*presencia sin aguadar*" (sounding strong and solid)) and visual (through his body language).

Second, Tilo must be able to produce this "big sound" physically. He accomplishes this by combining a traditional Western drum set with timbales.[13] Many *timbaleros* (one who plays timbales) only use two timbales with the smaller chacha bell and the larger mambo bell, and perhaps one or two cymbals. The addition of the bass drum, hi-hats, snare drum and toms gives Tilo's playing more "bottom end" and "punch",[14] thereby creating a bigger sound than what is usually heard in the performance of other *timbaleros*. When Tilo plays both the timbales and the drum set at the same time, then he is producing his "big sound".

In listening to the music performed by Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, and Latin bands in general, it is not difficult to recognize the importance of percussion. With three types of drums (the timbales, congas, and bongos) and extra percussion (clave and guiro), there is little surprise that Latin-American popular music is characterized by its "contagious rhythms." Tilo acknowledges all the musicians (not just the percussionists) in the band, and feels that everyone's role is important: "if just one part falls out of sync, then it can destroy the whole feel of the song" (Paiz 1995b). However, as Tilo explains, and is agreed upon by all the band members, there seems to be a little more emphasis on the percussion and the bass guitar: "*si no hay acoplados con el bajo y percusión, es muy dificil tocar la canción y tener la union* (if the bass and percussion do not become as one, then it will be difficult to play the song, and "the joining" will probably not occur). It has to 'happen' with these two first!" (ibid.). This comment is not unlike that of Berliner's on the rhythm section in jazz where the relationship between the drummer and bass player is usually the most critical "if things are going to happen beautifully in the ensemble" (1994:349). Therefore it is appropriate that, as the band's leader, Tilo is the percussionist. It allows him greater control over one of the most important parts of the music.

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[13] Timbales are two tom-tom like drums mounted side by side on a stand, and are made of brass or steel, covered with a single skin or plastic head. They are available in different sizes, the most popular being 13" and 14" in diameter. On a holder, in the middle of the stand, is a fitting for two cowbells.

[14] These terms (bottom end and punch) are typically used by drummers as denoting a deeper and fuller sound. The bass drum and larger toms add lower tones to the instrument, and when played in conjunction with the higher pitched snare drum and hi-hats, can amplify the percussive "punch".

I do not want to suggest that the emphasis on percussion is due to the fact that Tilo is the drummer. The focus on rhythm extends from the repertoire itself. Nor do I wish to equate the role of the drummer with that of a band leader.[15] However, I do feel, and it will be shown in subsequent chapters, that being the drummer helps make his role in leading the music and the band a little easier. It has been my experience as a percussionist that no other musician can exert such an influence over a group of musicians with such ease as a drummer.[16]

I had mentioned earlier that when Tilo performs the music he also dances to it in his mind, and that his "dancing" becomes visible through the way he physically plays the drums. One of the best examples can be seen during a *cumbia* when Tilo's upper torso bobs up and down with the music in a way that is characteristic of the genre's dance. This movement not only coincides with the motion of the dancers but is also a result of the requirements needed to execute physically the rhythm on the drum set. This kinesics of instrumental performance has been the subject of study by John Baily (1985) who argues that players' movements affect musical structure in fundamental ways. What he calls "motor structure", is the resulting interaction between the morphology of the instrument and the player's sensorimotor capacities.

An example of this could be seen when Tilo performed *cumbias* during the Valentine fiesta. The emphasis in *cumbia* is on the off beat which Tilo plays with his right hand on a crash cymbal (see figure 2.1). Sitting in front of his drum set, Tilo brings his stick down on the cymbal. At the same time his torso begins to rise, creating a kind of teeter effect between the two parts of his body (his torso and right arm). Although Tilo can play this pattern keeping his torso stationary, he chooses to

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[15] However, many of the best known band leaders in Latin-American popular music have been percussionists: Tito Puente, Poncho Sanchez, Mongo Santamaria, Luis Conte, and Daniel Ponce, for example.

[16] Conversations with different orchestral conductors had first brought this to my attention.

"dance" while he plays. As Tilo explains, "when people see me do this [performatives], then they know I'm getting into the music" (Paiz 1996e).

Tilo's physical performance of other genres also includes energetic motions which visually articulate the rhythms. During *merengue* his shoulders teeter from side to side while his hips rotate in a circular motion (characteristic of the dance), because of the interaction between his feet on the hi-hat and bass drum pedals. The performance of the other genres demonstrate less of a correlation between the dance and Tilo's movement. Nevertheless, the important thing is that in performing the music he wants to do more than simply play the rhythms. Tilo feels that "moving to the music is one of the ways in which I become part of the music" (ibid.). John Blacking explains that "the secret in many musical techniques are to be found in relaxation and rhythm, and leaving the body to do its own work after a period of practice - which is surely the very opposite of mind over body" (1977:23). He elaborates:

> Just as the ultimate aim of dancing [music making] is to be able to move [play] *without* thinking, to *be* danced [performed], so the ultimate achievement in thinking is to be moved to think, to *be* thought. It is sometimes called inspiration, insight, genius, creativity, and so on. But essentially it is a form of unconscious cerebration, a movement of the body. We are moved into thinking. Body, mind and music are one. (ibid.)

Tilo's physical participation also extends into the sound production of a performance, namely with the sound system. He feels that "the importance of a good sound check earlier on in the day of the fiesta cannot be underestimated" (Paiz 1996a). Setting the appropriate sound levels is necessary both on the stage (through the monitors) and off (through the main speakers). Instruments such as the keyboard, guitar, bass, and even the voices cannot be heard above the rest of the band until they are amplified. If Tilo is unable to hear all of the musicians on the stage (therefore all the music), then he "will be missing a part of the song. It is absolutely necessary for me to hear all the parts or I won't be able to fully participate with the music" (Paiz 1996c). The same goes for the sound off stage, but the audience is of more concern here than the musicians. For Tilo, as well as the rest of the band, having to deal with feedback noise in the speakers, arriving at the fiesta without enough cables or having to deal with balance problems can all create a negative atmosphere. They are all examples of where Tilo needs to remain in a positive mindset so that he can participate with the music in such a way as to *llamar la atención*[17] from others at the fiesta.

In the case of the Valentine fiesta only half the band arrived for the sound check. Therefore, Tilo could only get approximate levels for the individual microphones instead of the full band. As was seen in the description of the fiesta in the previous chapter, much of the first set was spent adjusting levels between songs. Although this created some negative feedback in the flow of the fiesta, it seemed as though Tilo did not allow this to deter his performance of the music and his ability to create participation.

Another important element in Tilo's technical approach to the music involves what he does not do. The absence of sequencers in Banda Amistad demonstrates Tilo's conceptualization of how he connects with the music:

> Using sequencers and drum machines can be frustrating and interfering. I end up having to follow the machine instead of the music and therefore they offer me little freedom or opportunity to change with the music if I feel inspired to do so at the time. (Paiz 1995b)

It is important for Tilo to have a great deal of freedom to participate with, and perform, the music as he sees fit or appropriate to the particular context in which he finds himself.

Building Intensity

For the remainder of this section, I will focus on how Tilo uses all of the aforementioned means of relating to the music, to bring out what he considers to be the most important manner of expressing his participation with the music; the building of intensity.

By intensity I do not mean climax. As Tilo explained to me, "a song must begin and end with a 'bang'" (1996a). What happens in between is a series of tension and releases. The result is an undulating pattern in the intensity of the song. For Tilo, "this is what is needed to keep the song alive and the listeners and performers interested from the beginning of the song until the end" (ibid.).

Tilo has a number techniques through which he can lower or raise the level of intensity. To begin with, he must play with confidence. No matter what other methods he uses to affect the intensity of a song. if there is no confidence in his sound, or in his demeanor, Tilo feels that "there is nowhere for the intensity to go but down" (ibid.). Therefore, his confidence provides the foundation for the "strong base on which to sound on" (see page 48).

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[17] *Llamar la atención* is Spanish for "to catch one's eye". In this context, Tilo uses this expression to refer to his ability to invite physical participation (be it the band through playing their instruments or the dancers through their movements) from those present at the fiesta. *Llamar la atención para la unir* (to invite one into "the joining").

Since percussion forms the backbone of Latin-American popular music, Tilo is in an effective position to alternate the intensity level of the musical sound. For the band leader this is important, since it is the intensity of the music which affects participation from the other musicians and the audience. One of the more obvious ways in which he can accomplish this is through the use of dynamics. However, at the Valentine fiesta there was little use of this. As the members of the band told me jokingly, "with Tilo there are only two kinds of dynamics he uses, loud and really loud!" Tilo's explanation for this was that "this kind of music needs to be played at a high volume. It needs to be felt in the whole body, not just in the ears" (1996g). Therefore, instead of alternating between *pianissimo* and *forte* to affect the intensity level, he fluctuates the timbral density of his playing.

By timbral density I am referring to the amount and number of drums Tilo uses when he plays. I have already mentioned how the combination of timbales and a drum set allow Tilo to achieve his "big sound", which raises the level of intensity. Playing "big" means that Tilo uses more cymbals, bass drum, timbales, and toms. Conversely, by playing on the timbales alone, or on a minimal part of the drum set (i.e. the hi-hat and snare drum), he can lower intensity. Other techniques which Tilo uses are alternating between simple and complex rhythms, varying the tempo, and finishing the song with what he calls a "big ending" (this is when the last chord of the song is held by the band while Tilo plays a flurry of notes on the drums).

The different parts of the genres' forms themselves (i.e. choruses, refrains, mambo sections, solos, etc.) also help in the raising and lowering of the intensity level. The different sections within each song form can, and often do, dictate how Tilo will participate with the music. For example, he will usually play with a "big sound" during refrains or mambo sections[18] (high intensity) and less so during choruses (low intensity). Figure 2.7 illustrates Tilo's account of how the intensity level in one particular song (appropriately called *Fiesta*) fluctuates through the way he participates with the music. This *punta*, with a chorus that goes "*Fiesta! Fiesta! Yo quiero mas Fiesta!*" (Fiesta! Fiesta! I want more Fiesta!), was the song which brought the Valentine fiesta to its climax. Notice how the fluctuation differences decrease as the song comes to its end. Tilo realizes that as the song progresses, and the longer it is played, the more likely musicians and dancers with become disinterested in the song, and lose interest in participating; the music becomes monotonous. By increasing the pace of intensity fluctuations, he can *llamar la atención* (sustain their participation).

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[18] A mambo is a repeating instrumental section of a song where the trumpets play their charateristic riffs, acting as a contrast to the piano and bass figures; also known as a *montuno*. It is often mistaken for a specific type of rhythm or song form. The dance done during this part of the music also became known as the mambo.

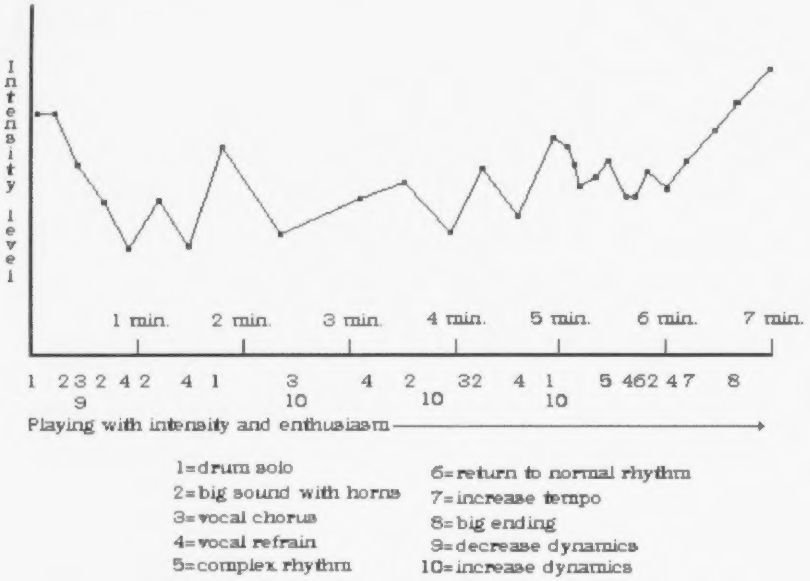

Figure 2.7 Representation of intensity fluctuations in the song *Fiesta*

When Tilo effectively combines his different methods of mental and physical performance then he is able to *rematar* (to catch the rebound and "finish off" the music). Implementing his performance practice is what he calls *poner los condimentos* (to add the spices). In a slightly more poetic way by fluctuating the intensity level, Tilo can "catch" the music and "finish it" by "garnishing" the music with his "spices" (his unique method of playing).

Conclusion

From the above, we see that Tilo's first step in the fiesta process is to create a relationship between himself and the music. He accomplishes this by approaching the music positively and by playing for himself first. This, then, creates (within himself) a context which allows Tilo to participate "comfortably" with the music through his physical actions. If he has not dealt with his mental approach to the music properly (in accordance to his ideology) then his performance of the music can become physically and audibly tense or uncomfortable for himself and others, thus inhibiting participation. If he can relate to the music with a positive mindset, then it becomes easier for Tilo to control a song's level of intensity, attain his "big sound" through the combination of timbales and drum set, and "dance" through emphatic movements during the physical execution of the different rhythms. Additionally, there is the importance of acoustic interaction which allows Tilo, through amplified sound, to actually hear and participate with the music.

According to Tilo, if he fulfills these personal requirements, he is being true to himself and the music, which is the first step towards creating a successful fiesta. From here, he can use the music as a vehicle to transmit a part of himself to others. This allows him to create (with both the musicians and the audience) a relationship which in turn produces a context for participation, or what he calls "the joining". Not unlike Chernoff's findings about an African musician, Tilo's approach to the music demonstrates his concern to bring forth a fresh dimension of involvement and excitement to the community in which he creates (1979:126).

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the main purpose here was to create a general outline of Tilo's involvement with the music. Now that this has been done I will move on to look at how Tilo can "*llamar la atención con los músicos*" (invite the participation of the band). Much of what has be introduced in the preceding pages will be expanded upon as other types of fiesta interaction are brought forward.

Chapter 3

Tilo and the Band

Once Tilo is participating as an individual with the music, or is achieving *acoplados*, he can then divert his attention to others at the fiesta; he can use the musical sounds he creates as a way of inviting participation from others. Although his sound is shared by anyone who is within earshot, his first priority is the band. This is not to say that the audience is less important than the musicians. However, Tilo feels "*es necesario caminar juntos con los músicos en frente de la audiencia*" (it is necessary to "walk together"[1] with the band before the audience) (1995b). With this accomplished he can begin the process of *la unir* with the audience via Banda Amistad but, I am getting ahead of myself. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the next step in Tilo's interaction during the fiesta, that of between himself and the band.

His involvement with the musicians is not unlike that with the music. According to Tilo, he must first develop a relationship which requires that all the musicians establish, and recognize, each other's roles within Banda Amistad. The first section of this chapter will address the question "What is the nature and purpose of Tilo's relationship with the band?" Next I will look at how Tilo's personal performance ideology, with particular emphasis on the importance of a positive mindset, is enacted and received by the band. Finally, I will look at how Tilo *llama la atención con la banda* through his physical and musical actions.

Creating a Relationship

The first thing which I will address in this section is Tilo's purpose for creating a relationship. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, Tilo feels that before *acoplados* occurs with the music, he has to develop his approach, or relationship, to it. The importance of a relationship is even greater when *acoplados* involves the participation of others. Over the past 2-4 years Tilo has developed his relationship with the band, as a whole, and on an individual basis. This has allowed him to learn the musical and performative strengths and weaknesses of each musician, which, of course, helps Tilo in preparing himself as the band leader. His knowledge of the musicians allows Tilo to know how each band member will possibly react during a performance. Therefore, not only does Tilo's relationship with the band members encourage participation, it informs him, and the band, on **how** to participate with greater confidence:

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[1] *Caminar juntos* (walking together) refers to, and is not unlike *acoplados* (coming together, as one unit).

> I place a lot of importance on developing a good relationship with the musicians I play with. Without one, it becomes difficult to know how to share in the music; where the other person is coming from...how they are approaching the music. (Paiz 1996d)

In his book *Thinking in Jazz* (1994), Paul Berliner makes a similar statement, that cumulative experience and longtime association with other artists enhance the ease of negotiating the musicians' interplay and musical conversation (p.365). After a certain amount of time, the players eventually develop musical signs that reveal one another's intentions. Tilo's signs become part of his vocabulary in the conversation between himself and the band members.

Tilo's relationship with each of the musicians allowed him to be better prepared for the Valentine fiesta. For example, Tilo knows that if the audience does not come onto the dance floor within the first two songs, Roberto becomes uneasy. As Tilo explained to me, "he [Roberto] starts to think that it is his, or the band's, fault why people are not getting up to dance. Then he starts to notice his mistakes more, and, from here, things can take a turn for the worse" (1996e). Such a scenario occurred during the first set of the evening. Knowing what Roberto's reaction was going to be, Tilo could prepare for the potential problem and circumvent it, before Roberto became too nervous. What Tilo actually did will be described later in this section.

Another reason why Tilo feels it is necessary to establish a relationship between himself and the band is that it creates a sense of *confirmación* ("trust between all"). Other scholars have found in their work with popular music groups that trustworthiness is an important characteristic of a band leader and should not be undermined (see Baron 1976, Berliner 1994, Cohen 1991, Duany 1994, Keil 1966, Loza 1993, Waterman 1991, and White 1987). It is a trait which entitles band leaders to a "genuine" following by their band members. Without trust, the relationship between the two is reduced to one of "hired hands". If the musicians trust Tilo, then they will be less inhibited to participate in the fiesta with him. However, trust is not something Tilo demands from the musicians, nor does he want to. He wishes to earn it. Tilo's vast playing experience and professionalism went a long way in initiating this feeling of *confirmación*:

> Through my developing relationship with the music and my years of playing experience I have become much more confident. This is

> important since if I am not confident in myself and my presentation of the music, how can I expect others to trust in my decisions as their band leader?! (Paiz 1996a) (trans.)

Tilo feels that it is important for the band to "*confien en mi*" (put their trust in me), just as he needs to put his faith in them. He has a lot of confidence in his fellow musicians and knows that everyone in the band will be there for the others. He needs to have this feeling of support from the band in order to get things accomplished professionally and musically during the fiesta:

> Through our relationship, we have developed trust in one another so that no matter what situation occurs in a fiesta, I know I can count on the band for total support[2]...*esto es cuando caminamos juntos* (this is when we begin "walking together"). I can't depend on the audience to give me any of this. (ibid.)

This is not to say that the audience is unable or unwilling to give support to Tilo or the band. As will be shown in the following chapter, the audience at the Valentine fiesta played a large role in supporting the band. Nonetheless, the relationship which Tilo builds with Banda Amistad is much more interpersonal than the one he creates with the audience. As the leader, and through his relationship with them, Tilo comes to earn and expect that trust and support from the band. The audience is not required to support anyone. Additionally, Tilo's relationship with the band is already established before he even arrives at the fiesta; this is not always the case with the audience. Therefore, Tilo can, and does, rely on the band a lot more than the audience.

A final reason why Tilo depends on his relationship with the musicians is that the band rarely rehearses any more. Tilo informed me that this is largely the result of not having a place to do so. Finding a rehearsal room large enough to fit all eleven musicians at a price Tilo is willing to pay (the money comes out of his expenses) is difficult. Additionally, Tilo has not chosen any new material for the band to learn, and thus feels that "it is not all that important to rehearse until we have some new songs. We have been playing our material[3] for quite some time, and we know it quite well" (1996d). Many of the band members do not agree with Tilo, and feel that they should practice more. Yet at the same time, they are not willing, and some feel that it is not their responsibility, to pay for the rental of a practice room.

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[2] Total support, according to Tilo, entails moral, musical and physical.

[3] Banda Amistad have about 70 songs in their repertoire.

Since there is often little or no practice time before the fiesta, Tilo must count on the musicians and rely on what he has learned about them through their relationship, in order to "make it through the event successfully". In the case of the Valentine fiesta there was no formal rehearsal, however the band had performed in Calgary the previous weekend, which better prepared them for the fiesta in Edmonton. More will be said on this later.

Now that Tilo's reasons for creating a relationship have been outlined, I will turn to the nature of his connection with the musicians.

The most obvious role which Tilo assumes in his relationship with the band is that of the *jefe* (chief, leader, or boss). The necessity for this role arises out of practical concern. What I mean by this is that there are certain managerial tasks which Tilo feels are better left to the responsibility of one person (i.e. booking gigs, making sure everyone has transportation, arranging meeting times, or taking care of finances). According to Tilo, having one person taking care of such matters can simplify organization; "if three or four people are trying to accomplish the same thing, then chances are higher for miscommunication" (1995a). As one band captain told Christopher Waterman during his study of jùjú, "a well-organized band cannot have two leaders...how can two men drive one *moto* [automobile]?" (1991:219). However, although Tilo's title as *jefe* is granted to him partly because it is "his band"[4], and he does all the hiring and is the one who pays the musicians, his authority is still challenged and must always be reconfirmed. Maintaining his authority coincides with Tilo's ability to uphold the trust and respect of his band members.

An example of a challenge to Tilo's "leadership-authority" occurred while the levels for the sound system were being set during the sound check for the Valentine fiesta. Although each member of the band felt that his way of setting the sound board was better, it was Tilo who made the final decision. Based on his performing experience, Tilo adjusted all the sound levels to what he felt was the most appropriate for the particular performance setting. Of course, there was his personal preference; "as the drummer I like things louder than what the other band members would prefer, and I keep it that way; this music is made to be played loud. In the end, it is my band, and I feel that I have a little more experience than they do when it comes to such things" (Paiz 1996f).

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[4] The majority of popular music bands I have come into contact with have defined "ownership" of a band in one of two ways. For example, when musicians say "this is my band" then it is assumed that they are the ones who either write the music for the band, or, if they are a cover band, take care of managerial tasks such as hiring new musicians, paying the musicians, booking gigs, etc.

Troy, the bass player and individual who sets up the sound system, is often the most vocal about what he considers "proper sound levels" to be. As usual, Troy felt that the general volume of the sound system was set too loud. However, instead of overtly confronting Tilo about the volume, Troy suggested that "maybe we could start off the first set with a low setting, and then turn it up as the night goes by." For Tilo to ignore Troy's suggestion may lead to a mutual loss of respect from both sides and even the other musicians. Yet, at the same time, Tilo is adamant about what he wants in sound production. In the end, Tilo told the band that the levels would remain the same, but that he wanted us to follow Troy's suggestion in that the dynamics would be lower during the first set. This did little to appease Troy and the rest of the band since they knew "things are going to get loud anyways" (Troy 1996).

Based on my interviews with the members of Banda Amistad, the above is a typical "scene" before fiestas. In general, the musicians have come to accept Tilo's decision, partly due to the fact that Tilo guarantees them employment, as well as the fact that there is no other band with whom they wish to perform. Therefore, the members of Banda Amistad, whether they agree with it or not, must accept Tilo's decision-making so that they can move on to creating fiesta. I do not wish to imply here that simply because Tilo "hands out the pay cheques" he is entitled to exercise all authority over the band. As will be seen in the remainder of this chapter and the next, Tilo's role as *jefe* requires that he maintain a delicate balance of control and autonomy within the three domains of the fiesta: the music, band, and audience.

Another way in which Tilo fulfills his role as *jefe* is during the performance of the music itself. Tilo sets the tempo, chooses the songs, assigns solos, or he might change the song's form. Additionally, if something happens during the performance (i.e. the band starts to "fall apart"[5] musically or personally) the musicians expect Tilo to keep things together. Again, the band must trust that Tilo will lead them in a way that is best for Banda Amistad as a whole.

> I tell the band that we have to be close personally and musically. They need to trust me, just like I trust them. They need to know if something goes wrong during the fiesta, there will be someone there to fix it. Most important we are there to share the feeling in creating that particular musical moment. We have to get into the same feeling. If this is done, then it is easier for me to lead the band. (Paiz 1996g)

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[5] Tilo considers the band to be "falling apart" when the musicians begin to play at different tempos, missing entrances, or are playing out of tune. A personal "falling apart" is when there are bad sentiments between members of the band, which in turn causes the players to "not sound in harmony".

Although this role of leader gives Tilo the final say in matters concerning the band's performance, he does not wish to come across as a dictator:

> More important than being a leader, I have to be a friend of the band. I need to create an environment where we [the band] can exchange freely between one another. When I do have to lead, I like to do it in such a way that pulls together the band's many strengths. Also, I want the musicians to play for themselves because they want to, not because they were told to. If I can accomplish this, then I know I am fulfilling my role as their leader. (ibid.)

Therefore Tilo has to maintain a balance between his relationship as leader and as friend to the musicians in Banda Amistad. He has to create an environment which invites open interaction, yet, at the same time, respect and trust in his decision making:

> ...I want to create a loving environment so that we can come together more easily. I listen to what other's [band members] are saying and I am open to things up to a point. Sometimes I'll hear a band member trying to play something different. If I don't feel it is appropriate for that time, I will get them back on track. (Paiz 1995a)

An example of this occurred at the fiesta when Troy changed the bass pattern during a *cumbia*. He began to play in a *salsa* style which sounds a little "hipper" than the standard pattern associated with *cumbia* bass (see the difference between the two patterns in figures 2.1 and 2.4). Feeling that the bass pattern was inappropriate, Tilo started to play quarter notes on the bass drum. It was not long before Troy picked up on Tilo's cue and changed to the more traditional form. Once again, Troy was relegated to Tilo's authority, but when asked about this particular incident, he had little trouble in following Tilo's "greater expertise concerning this style of music".

When the musicians first joined Banda Amistad it was relatively easy for Tilo to establish his role as *jefe*, since no other form of relationship had been developed. Becoming a friend and becoming familiar with their strengths and weaknesses however, could only come about with time. Tilo expected to have the time and opportunity to extend his relationship beyond that of "leader-follower" when the musicians first joined the band:

> When I started this band I knew it was going to be a long term thing. I made sure that each member knew this when they started with me. I wanted to be sure that they would give me their best, and a long term commitment. If I didn't have this, then it would have been difficult for

> the band to improve, and things [relations within the band] could have gotten complicated later on. (Paiz 1996e)

With the exception of myself and John, the members of Banda Amistad have been playing with Tilo for the last 2-4 years. This has given Tilo the opportunity to become closer with all of the musicians. In addition to being a leader and friend to the band members, Tilo also becomes a teacher. The combination of these three characteristics is what Tilo considers to be a good *jefe*. In the example described at the beginning of this section, we saw that Roberto becomes nervous when there is a lack of audience feedback. Not only did Tilo deal with this on the stage (as the leader), he also talked to Roberto outside of the performance context (as a friend) to suggest some ways (as a teacher) in which Roberto could deal with his uneasiness. For the Valentine fiesta he told Roberto that if the audience is not getting up to dance then "it offers the band a good opportunity to show themselves off." I will return to this scenario in the section on physical participation.

Finally, Tilo's participation with the music is extended through his relationship with the other musicians. Therefore, he feels that "knowing the members of the band individually is important because it is not just a matter of leading the music, I am also leading the feelings and emotions of the band" (1996a). How Tilo can actually lead, or at least influence, these emotions and feelings is by putting them into what he calls a "positive mindset".

Establishing a Positive Mindset

As the central dogma of his performance ideology, Tilo feels that instilling a positive mindset within his fellow musicians will allow them to be confident in themselves and in their ability to create a successful fiesta. By preventing the band from *lo saque de quicio* ("becoming unhinged"), Tilo can create an environment which is conducive to *acoplados* and "joining". He accomplishes this in a number of ways. First and foremost he needs the musicians to be able to perform for themselves. Just as Tilo feels *acoplados* must occur between himself and the music, so, too, is it with the members of Banda Amistad:

> Obviously, the musicians are the most crucial part of creating the musical environment. Therefore, they have to be happy with what they are doing. What I try to create is for the musicians to have a good feeling individually in the music, that what they are playing is in harmony with themselves. It is difficult to transmit a positive feeling to the audience if it isn't in the band first. That is why I tell them that they need to play for themselves first. (Paiz 1996f)

One of the first steps in approaching the music and fiesta positively is for the band to try and leave their personal problems (this can involve tensions at home or between the band members themselves) aside while they are performing:

> The band goes through different phases and sometimes there are difficult situations which does not help the band. If we learn how to follow and accept our emotions and deal with them in a positive way then it becomes much easier to create a successful fiesta. When I have a bad day, it won't help anyone if I bring my negative feelings to the fiesta. It will only spread throughout the band. (Paiz 1996b)

Additionally, Tilo feels it is imperative that a positive mindset within the band should not only be established, but maintained; "the mind is a very powerful thing and if you let it become negative, it can take over your body in no time at all" (ibid.). All of the musicians in Banda Amistad agreed with this statement and added that not only can a negative mindset take over the individual, it can affect the whole band:

> I have a responsibility to the music and to playing it well. I try not to let whatever happened to me during the day interfere with my playing. A personal problem with another band member can't get in the way of the music. My role is to give my best to the music, and encourage other people to participate in it [the music] through my playing. (Spanky 1996)

For Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, it is particularly important that they approach the music positively, and play for themselves, when they begin to make musical mistakes during a performance.

> When they [the band] play for themselves they have to give their best to the music. When they give their best to the music then they will be giving their best to the audience. I also want to protect the musicians from stress as well. For example if they play for the audience and they say 'Oh I played that solo for them and they didn't even like it!' then this might not be healthy for them. So, if the musicians play the best they can, and they play for themselves, and the audience doesn't get it, then it is their [the audience's] loss. (Paiz 1996b)

In other words, if the musicians learn to play for themselves and are satisfied with the level of their performance, then they become more confident in themselves. If the musicians are only performing for the audience, then they will become self-conscious about the mistakes they make, and how those mistakes are being received by the audience. Once this happens, Tilo says that "the individual is no longer playing 'the music', they are playing the audience" (1996g). If the focus on the audience becomes greater than on the self, the number of mistakes a musician makes can grow exponentially; "the first mistake makes the musician nervous, causing him to make more errors in his playing" (Paiz 1996b).

The performance of *Ran Kan Kan* during the Valentine fiesta provides an example of how the band dealt with a potentially disastrous mistake. At the end of Tilo's drum solo, the horn section came in four bars to early. This mistake could have caused the song and band to fall apart, but because they were in a positive mindset, playing for themselves, they were able to accept their mistake, catch Tilo's second "count in", and finish with little disturbance to the flow of the song.

Mistakes during a performance are inevitable. Therefore, how the musicians deal with them play a crucial part in the development of a successful fiesta. Troy explains:

> If I make a mistake when I play, even if other people don't hear it, it can build up inside me and affect the way I play...but I try not to let others see that. You shouldn't show anything on stage. Now, I don't mean you should put on a front. I mean you shouldn't show you are mad. You either show nothing, or you show a good thing in your demeanor on stage. It only hurts things when you start getting negative on stage. (Troy 1996)

Since it is difficult to have a flawless performance, Banda Amistad tries to "get their mistakes out" within the first set. For the Valentine fiesta this included improper balance between the instruments, musical mistakes from lack of rehearsal, and not "being warmed up enough" on their instrument. The description of the first set (chapter 1) illustrates how Pato and Craig had to adjust the sound system until a proper sound was established.[6]

Not only does Tilo expect the musicians to deal with their own mistakes positively, he also insists that the band treat other's mistakes in the same manner:

> I tell the musicians that they have responsibility not only for their own parts, but to support the other parts in the band as well. Some mistakes will happen which is fine, as long as it is not every song. If a mistake is made I tell the band not to worry. The last thing I want is for everyone to look at the person who made the mistake. If everyone

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[6] There are two reasons why Pato and Craig were the individuals who were adjusting the sound levels. First, they were the closest to the sound board. Second, as horn players, they have a number of rests during the songs which allow them to make changes to the sound without affecting their musical part; the rest of the musicians play throughout the songs.

> "points" then it is terrible. That person can become self-conscious and might not be able to play as well. After a set is done, I will talk to that musician about areas where he could improve. Again, this isn't done in a way of 'pointing the finger', but as a way of suggesting certain areas to work on. There isn't a need to feel bad if you make a mistake, but you do have a responsibility to yourself as a musician to play well. Besides, even if a mistake is made, chances are, the audience will not even notice. (1996c)

This last sentence is especially important for both the audience and the musicians. As will be seen in the next chapter, the presence of a band in a live(ly) context is much different than the use of prerecorded music at a fiesta. A number of the musicians mentioned that if the fiesta is going well, they get caught up in the fiesta *ambiente* and do not notice their mistakes as much:

> When I'm playing I'm so involved with the music and the audience that I might not even notice a mistake. I might notice it when I first make it, but then it goes by and it is forgotten. (Spanky 1996)

In a somewhat paradoxical statement, Tilo feels that approaching the music and fiesta positively also means that the band should prepare for the negative:

> We need to be open to anything that might happen during the fiesta. That is why it is important to prepare ourselves for failure as well. If people [audience] don't show up or things aren't happening in the fiesta, it is not something that should be taken on the weight of the musicians' shoulders. There are many other details to think about like the publicity, the organizers, the place, etc. Many people don't realize this and it becomes easy for the audience to blame the band for a bad fiesta. (1996a)

This is another example of where Tilo feels his performance ideology plays a crucial role. As long as the band *hablan claro* ("speaks with truth in the mouth", or, as Tilo translates in this instance, "performs honestly"), then they can be confident and positive that they did their best. Both Tilo and the musicians have told me that they have the musical capability to perform in such a way as to create a fiesta that is *cachimbona* (really good). Accordingly, if they fulfill their part to the best of their ability and the fiesta is unsuccessful, then, as Tilo states, "we can only assume that another part of the fiesta failed to deliver the necessary ingredients for the audience to have a good time" (ibid.).

Part of preparing for "the worst" in a fiesta with a positive approach also involves focusing within the limits of what can be dealt with by the band. Many people know, and have experienced, how much easier it is to fixate and complain about the negative things in life. The same is true for a fiesta. For example, the Valentine fiesta was held in Hellenic hall. Although this hall is considered to be a good place for a fiesta by Tilo (it is large, clean, and it has a place to cook and sell food), some of the band members dislike playing there because they know "playing on the stage in Hellenic hall is always loud" (Spanky 1996).

Further elaboration on this statement elucidated that the physical layout of the stage in Hellenic hall causes any sound produced within its confines to get bounced off the hard walls, and back to the players. Additionally, since the stage is somewhat small, the musicians are arranged in close proximity to one another, making the sounds from amplifiers and Tilo's drum set seem even louder. John, Spanky, Pato, and Troy were the musicians who brought this negative element against participation to my attention, and, not surprisingly, since they are placed at the back of the stage where the volume is the greatest and the sound becomes the most "muddled". As will be seen in the next section, Tilo attempts to rectify this problem through the use of monitors.

Obviously, this poor quality of sound can have a substantial effect on the band's positive mindset. According to Pato, the way in which to deal with such a situation is quite simply to "make the best of it":

> There are a lot of negative things which I could focus on, such as the stage sound at Hellenic hall, but this is something that is not within my power to change. It doesn't make any sense to let things like this get to me. If there is no way for me to change the situation and I become negative then I'll never be able to get into the fiesta. The best thing for me to do is accept the problem and focus my attention on other aspects in the fiesta which I do have control over, such as my own playing or how my presence is affecting others around me. (Pato 1996)

Two things which Tilo has control over and allows the band to approach the fiesta positively have already been mentioned in this chapter: rehearsals and sound checks. Making sure that the band is ready mentally, physically, and musically requires that Tilo has rehearsed with the band close to the date of the fiesta. Although there was no rehearsal for the Valentine fiesta, as stated earlier Banda Amistad had performed the previous weekend in Peace River and Calgary. The fact that these two gigs went very well made the band excited to perform for the Valentine fiesta as well as feeling "rehearsed":

> We played the weekend before and it went well, so I was looking forward to this fiesta. We were fresh going in. (Marco 1996)

> We had played the weekend before so we were warmed up for this one. I don't like coming to a gig when we haven't rehearsed for a while. (John 1996)

The sound check is another context which can make or break the band's receptivity to performing at the fiesta. First of all, the sound check becomes like a mini-rehearsal where the band runs through a number of songs:

> I can often tell if I'm going to be able to get into the fiesta from the sound check. If things don't go well during this time, then I'm not looking forward to the performance. (Spanky 1996)

If the sound check becomes a mini-rehearsal, then it is important that everyone is present. If some of the musicians take the time to come for a sound check and others do not, then negative feelings can arise within the band. This is especially important for Troy who does most of the work setting up the sound system. Doing a proper sound check allows Troy to put his mind at rest knowing that everything is in working order and that the balance is set appropriately. For the Valentine fiesta Tilo, Troy, Marco, John, Jacqui, Kenny, and myself were present for the sound check. Even though the full band was not present, we did run through a few songs and adjusted the levels for those who were there. Tilo was disappointed that he was unable to do a proper sound check, but it did not seem to affect the band's positive mindset. This was probably due to the "positive residue" left over from the weekend before.

Finally, for Tilo to have the band in a positive mindset, he has to make sure that he has completed all the basic requirements for the band to perform. A few of these requirements were mentioned under Tilo's role as *jefe*, i.e. making sure that the equipment gets to the hall, that everyone knows what to wear, and renting any extra equipment that might be needed. If Tilo can accomplish some or all of what has been mentioned so far in this chapter, then the band will be able to approach the fiesta positively, which also means that it will be easier for Tilo to get them to join with him in the creation of the fiesta.

Physical Participation

In order for Tilo to get the band to participate with him, he feels that there must be eye contact between all of the musicians and himself. This is the reason that he arranges the band in a circle with himself in the center (see figure 1.2 of chapter 1):

> Being in the middle makes it easy to direct the band members. Also, the sound of the drums can reach each musician equally. Sometimes people ask me why I'm not in the front of the stage since I am the leader. If I did move up to the front then I wouldn't be able to bring the band together or keep them with me as easily. I could do it [be in the front] if I wanted to, but it is more comfortable for me to be in the center. (Paiz 1996a)

As already mentioned, the stage at Hellenic hall is somewhat small thereby causing the band to set up close to each other. This closeness seems to be an important factor for Banda Amistad. Tilo and a few of the other band members described some performances where the stage was quite long and narrow which resulted in the band having to set up in row instead of a circle. Not only did this make eye contact impossible, in some instances, it became difficult for the band to hear the "live" sound of the other instruments as they were being performed on stage. As Jacqui explained to me, "The further we get from each other, the fainter and more delayed the sound becomes." Therefore, closeness to one another in the band makes participation more relaxed due to the simple fact that the musicians can see and hear one another with greater ease.

For the Valentine fiesta, the band, with the exception of Roberto and Jacqui (the two singers) who were facing the audience, always had Tilo in view. This is important since, by simply having them watch him play, Tilo can *llamar la atención* which begins the "joining" process:

> When I am playing I give it my all and you can see it in the way I play; I use my whole body to get into the music. I want the band to do the same. By watching me play, I hope the band members become motivated and take part in what I am sharing with them...the music, the *ambiente*! (Paiz 1996d)

> Tilo is a fantastic player. He really leads us through his playing. He doesn't even need to say anything. The excitement he shows when he plays gets us going. He looks like he is having a good time and we want to take part in that as well. (John 1996)

> He is the best leader I've ever been with. Just looking at him and seeing that he is enjoying himself and is giving his best gives me the initiative to do my best. The rest of the band does this too. It makes a big difference! (Roberto 1996)

> It is easy to follow Tilo, he never tires. Even with songs we've been playing for 3 or 4 years, he still plays them like they are full of new life. (Pato 1996)

Therefore, this "kinesic punctuation" (Burke 1945:363) which Tilo creates through his emphatic playing movements invites the participation of the other musicians by making his enthusiasm visual. Not unlike Paul Berliner's findings in jazz performance, Tilo's physical embodiment of the beat "provides concrete reference points for the band to participate with" (1994:152).

In addition to displaying his enthusiasm, Tilo will turn to the musicians and give them a smile, tell a joke, or yell out their names during a solo to give encouragement. This was necessary during the first song Banda Amistad performed at the Valentine fiesta. Since the audience was not coming out to dance, Tilo thought that Roberto might become anxious. By smiling at him, playing with a lot of enthusiasm, and choosing a song that Roberto likes, Tilo was able to keep the lead singer in a positive mood until the next song, at which time a number of people came onto the dance floor.

During the Valentine fiesta Tilo gave other physical and verbal cues as to when the band should participate. Cues in this sense function as a reminder of a past act (which was first learned through the developing relationship between Tilo and the band members) that gives a reference for participating within the finite sphere of performance. According to Ruth Stone, cues coordinate the many different actions in a performance, and are the communications between performers which short cut negotiation of meaning at strategic points within the music performance (1982:104). In other words, cues become an important way for Tilo to synchronize the behaviour of the musicians, and "*mantener activamente la participación con todos los músicos*" (to actively maintain the participation of all the musicians) (Paiz 1996f).

Of course, certain parts of the performance are already known and expected by the band through the knowledge they gain from their relationship with Tilo and in their experience playing with him. However, there are other parts within the fiesta which depend upon specific cues. One of the most obvious physical cues is Tilo's clicking of drum sticks at the beginning of each song. This action tells the rest of the band that the song is about to start as well as establish the tempo. Just before the song begins he yells out "uno, dos, tres, quatro!" which signals the musicians to begin participating. Other examples of verbal signals which he used during the fiesta included shouting out "now", to call in the horn section, or "*salsa*" to change into the *salsa* section of a song. These words not only told the band when to participate, but how to participate.

However, it is difficult for Tilo to stay in contact with all of the musicians all of the time. He solves this problem by using certain individuals as his link to the rest of the band. For the Valentine fiesta Pato became the liaison for the horn section, while Roberto relayed information (i.e. the title of the next song) to Jacqui and Marco, and Troy sometimes played the "middle man" for the keyboardist. These three individuals are generally an important connection to the band for Tilo since he did not have time to say the same thing to each person once the fiesta was under way. For example, during the performance of *Oye Como Va,* Tilo decided to change the form of a song by repeating a section in the middle of the piece. Instead of having to signal everyone, he told Pato, Roberto, and Troy what he wanted to do and relied on them to disperse the information so that participation kept flowing smoothly.

Another way in which Tilo interacts with the band is through the use of a sound system on stage. Many of the band members placed a lot of importance on the use of monitors during the fiesta. For Tilo to participate with the musicians he must be able to hear them and vice versa. Due to the poor acoustics of the stage in Hellenic hall it is necessary for Tilo to use a monitor in order for him to hear each part.

> I need a monitor for myself which has all the musicians parts coming through it. I also want the rest of the band to have this as well. The main idea is that I want the musicians to hear the same sound that the audience is hearing. This also motivates the musicians to participate; they can hear themselves better and because of this, we can come together and play tighter. (Paiz 1996e)

There were only two monitors for the Valentine fiesta.[7] One was placed in front of Tilo while the second monitor went in between Roberto and Jacqui (as the vocalists they need to be able to hear themselves and the keyboard in order to sing in tune) (see figure 1.2). This, of course, meant that the rest of the band was without monitors. For the horn section this became a real problem:

> Playing on the Hellenic hall stage was loud and it gave me a headache. What was worse, I didn't have a monitor so I couldn't hear myself. (Spanky 1996)

> Playing at Hellenic hall means it's going to be loud. When it gets loud then we [the horns] have to play louder just to hear ourselves. After playing like this for a while your lips start to hurt. (John 1996)

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[7] This is usually the case since it is expensive to rent more than two monitors.

How well the musicians are able to hear others in the band can affect their positive mindset in addition to how well the they can aurally/physically participate in the fiesta. Marco, Roberto, and Jacqui thought the stage sound was good and had little problem participating with Tilo and the band. This is not surprising since they were the closest to the second monitor. For the horn section this was not the case. So how do Spanky, John, and Pato get past this negative influence and continue to participate within a positive mindset? Part of the answer lies in what has already be mentioned; watching and feeding off Tilo's excitement when he plays and following his actions and words. The rest can be found in the way they interact with the rest of the band and each other: through their dancing.

Within the last four or five fiestas the horn section has been taking on a new role in the band, that of dancers. This has had a significant effect on the band as a whole. First of all, the dancing by the horn players is a way of demonstrating their positive mindset to others at the fiesta. Just as the musicians feed off Tilo's "energy"[8] when they see him play, the band feeds off each other. Although Roberto and Jacqui have been dancing in front of the stage while they sing since they first joined Banda Amistad, this is part of their "required" performance. The fact that the horn section dances of their own free will demonstrates their eagerness and excitement to participate in the fiesta. Dancing allows the horn section to participate in another way besides simply playing.

> Our little dancing in the horn section helps us to interact better. If we could dance better I think the audience would enjoy it even more. We have to look like we are having a good time. It makes the music visual, our dancing, smiling, laughing, and talking to each other. (John 1996)

> All the times we've danced, people have come up to tell us that it makes the band look a lot better. It made it look like the band was participating more with the audience. Also, I have started to have more fun since we started dancing. Even if the music playing isn't going well, dancing makes the fiesta better, for me, anyways. (Spanky 1996)

> If we [the band] don't relate to each other then everything can fall apart. When the horns aren't playing [during musical rests] we start to dance; Tilo's playing makes us move. Also, when we see Roberto and Jacqui dance it makes us want to respond. If we dance then we stay in the

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[8] I am adopting Berliner's use of the term as he sees it used by jazz musicians. Energy is thought of literally and figuratively. "Just as it requires energy to produce and project sounds on musical instruments, it requires energy for performers to draw upon feelings [from others in the band] as they infuse sounds with emotion" (1994:256).

> music. I guess how we act when we aren't playing our instruments is just as important as when we are. (Pato 1996)

Dancing in the horn section, therefore, plays a large role in inviting and sustaining participation within the band. Since the horns have many bars of rests during each song, dancing allows them to remain physically and mentally "in" the fiesta. It could have been very easy to let the poor acoustics on the stage affect Spanky, John, and Pato but they know how their mood can affect the rest of the band. As Pato mentioned, it does not make any sense to become negative about something that can not be changed. "We just have to find a way to stay in a positive mood which will allow us to get past the bad sound...like dancing" (Pato 1996). On a similar note, Tilo feels that:

> This music is meant to move you physically. Also, you can get lazy if you don't move when you play. Dancing keeps you into the music and into the fiesta...If the musicians become lazy then their positive mindset can come down, which will cause everything else to come down. This means a loss in enthusiasm, decrease in tempo, and playing out of tune; an overall breakdown in the performance. (1996a)

Another way Tilo can invite participation within Banda Amistad, which is less obvious, involves the choice of clothing. The band has three uniforms each of which, depending on the fiesta, has its own significance. These uniforms include, a white T-shirt with the band's logo on the front, a black long sleeve shirt with the band's logo on the front to be worn with dark pants, and a black suit with colored shirts and ties (Jacqui usually wears a dress). When Tilo asks that the black suits be worn, as he did for the Valentine fiesta, he is telling the band that this event "is special, and not just another gig." Tilo usually asks the band to wear their suits when he wants to put on "an extra special performance". As Tilo informed me, wearing the suits means that "the musicians have to take a little extra time in getting ready [not unlike how the audience prepares themselves for the fiesta by wearing semi-formal attire] and will place a little more importance on the fiesta and, hence, take their performance a little more seriously" (1996e). Not only did the band's costuming establish a visual trademark of their identity (that of members in Banda Amistad), but it also, since Tilo wore a grey suit, allowed the leader to stand out from the rest of the musicians.

> When you are a member of the band you take pride in your outfit. It [the suit] sets us apart from the rest of the people at the fiesta; it shows who the band is, and that we are a group who looks and sounds together.

> Also, I feel that if you respect the uniform, then you are respecting the drummer and you are respecting the other members in the band. (ibid.)

Therefore, putting on their suits is one of the musician's first steps in getting into their role for the fiesta.

The way in which Tilo greets the musicians when he first arrives at the fiesta can also have a great impact on how the band will participate that evening. As members of the band made their way into the hall for the Valentine fiesta, Tilo would go over and shake their hand and talk to them for a short time to see if everything is all right. Once he knew that they were "in a positive mindset" he would go back to his seat and start putting together the first set list. After getting to know Tilo over the course of two to four years, the band has come to expect this behaviour from Tilo. However, some of the band members recounted fiestas where Tilo did not do his "ritual greeting."

> When Tilo doesn't give us the usual hand shake then we know something is bothering him. This can make the atmosphere on the stage seem tense and also have a negative impact on participation. (Roberto 1996)

Musical Participation

What I mean by musical participation, is how Tilo invites and sustains the band's involvement through the musical sounds he creates, and how he manipulates them. As seen in the previous section, the excitement and enthusiasm which he shows through his playing entices the musicians to participate. In addition to his demeanor, Tilo includes musical techniques which encourages the band to take part in the music making of the fiesta.

The first of these is his steady and solid performance of the rhythms. According to the musicians in the band, it is important for Tilo to keep a steady tempo and have a solid, secure, and confident sound. If he can accomplish this then the band members can play their parts with the assurance that they will have the support needed to get through their performance individually and collectively.

> Tilo is such a solid player. You just have to hear him play and you want to play along...you want to try and play at his level. (John 1996)

> Tilo is such a solid player and I never have to worry about the rhythm...I mean I know his part will always be there and I don't have to worry about it. (Spanky 1996)

By providing confidence and a solid rhythmic base for the band to participate in, Tilo can maintain his role as *jefe* with the assurance that the musicians will follow him wherever he wants to take the music:

> As the drummer and their leader I have to keep on top of them...keep them following me. If I let them lead me then they can drag me down. The other musicians know about the feel and the sound that is supposed to be produced for each song, but they don't necessarily know how to achieve it or how to use it. This is where they have to trust me. I still want them to play for themselves, but at the same time they have to trust and follow my lead. (1996g)

The way in which Tilo achieves an ideal "feel" and sound is through what the band calls his "complementary playing style."

The fact that Tilo is the leader of Banda Amistad, that he is an excellent musician, and that he plays an instrument that could quite easily overpower (sonically) the rest of the band, would make it easy for Tilo to perform in such a way that would show up the other musicians. However, this is not part of Tilo's "trueness" to self and music. Instead, Tilo chooses to perform in such a way that not only supports the band musically, but "brings out the best in the musicians." This begins with what was described in chapter 2 as Tilo's "big sound."

By combining a drum set with timbales, Tilo can create rhythms which are more complex than the standard timbale parts thereby making his sound denser or "bigger", and more textured. "It is this bigger sound which reaches out to the musicians and draws them in to participate with Tilo" (Pato 1996). The way in which this "big sound" invites the musicians to participate was explained by John at the beginning of this section: "you just see and hear the way he plays and you want to take part in his level of playing." The performance of the instrumental ballad *Ropa* at the Valentine fiesta offers a good example of how Tilo used his ability to make a "big sound" to build intensity in the song. It also shows how he supported the musicians, and "brought out the best" in Marco who played the melody on his guitar.

When the song began, Tilo started playing a simple pattern on the hi-hat, snare drum and bass drum. As the song progressed, and to help build the intensity, Tilo switched from the hi-hat to the ride cymbal which sustained his sound.[9] He also added more drum fills through the use of the toms and timbales. This resulted in his "big sound" which Marco followed and participated in:

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[9] The characteristic sound of hi-hats are sharp and crisp due to the foot mechanism which cinches the two cymbals together, thereby disallowing them to ring. Conversely, the ride cymbal has a much larger circumference and rests on a stand where it can resonate freely until stopped by the drummer's hand.

> He plays the song according to the mood of the fiesta. He goes with the flow and I trust his judgment. Tilo is the kind of player who can give you a really clear message through his playing. When we played *Ropa* we really go into it. The busier he got on the drums [playing more intensely and more notes], the more intense we would get, making the sound intense as well. (Marco 1996)

The combination of drum set and timbales also provides Tilo with a greater variety in timbres from which to choose and use to complement the playing of the other musicians. An example of this occurred at the Valentine fiesta during the performance of *Una Nunca Sabe*. In the middle of the song there was a big shout chorus for the horns. In the original version of the song this 16 bar section is played only once. However, when Banda Amistad performed it, they repeated the chorus twice. The first time through, the horns play their parts simply and unembellished. To accompany this, Tilo plays on the shell of the timbales (cascara style) which produces a simple and crisp sound that supports the melodic line. During the repeat of the chorus the horns embellished their parts with scoops, turns and falls. To complement this change, Tilo switched to his full set of drums. For the first part of the repeat he played on the timbales which matched the higher pitch of the trumpet. Later, to complement the trombone, he played a similar pattern on the toms. Finally, to accentuate the entire section when the horns did their shots, he played the same shot pattern on the toms, crash cymbals, and bass drum simultaneously.

Another way in which Tilo keeps musical participation happening is by giving the opportunity for the musicians to solo. This is the one place in the music where anything can happen. On a certain level, the band members keep playing just to see whom Tilo will choose to take a solo for a particular song, and how good that solo will sound. On another level, solos offer the musicians a more personal and individualistic way to take part in the music.

> During solos the musicians are learning many things, most importantly they are developing self confidence in themselves and in playing this style of music. I try to keep the solos as open-ended as possible so that the musician can explore their musical capabilities. I'm also trying to find out what they have inside them so that I can bring it out for them to see. It also teaches me what I can musically use from them to keep the music making happening. (Paiz 1996f)

Without exception, Tilo allowed complete freedom in the solos during the fiesta performance. Just as he did during all of the songs, Tilo accentuated the soloist through his playing. The only difference here was that he allowed the soloist to lead while Tilo listened and picked up on musical ideas which were generated by the musician.

> I don't want the band to be mindless followers of my playing. I see myself as a cushion from which they can bounce ideas off of. It becomes a conversation where every musical comment receives a response. (Paiz 1995b)

The comparison of musical performance and conversation is, although far from original, very appropriate. A conversation entails more than what any one person means to say at any one moment in it. Conversations take shape in time, while they are occurring; they are enacted in the same moment that actors decide what to say. The course of the conversations emerges, with one statement depending on the others. The next statement is elicited by the present one in such a way that it will be related to it, but there is a certain openness wherein one cannot predict accurately just what the next statement will be.

However, there were some instances when Tilo felt it was necessary to instigate and take control of the conversation. This occurred when he chose to perform *Ran Kan Kan* at the beginning of the second set. Spanky informed me that in certain situations he will choose a song like this if the band has not been playing well:

> When things aren't coming together during a performance Tilo might take more solos, which he did with this song, to put more attention on himself and less on the mistakes of the band. He has more confidence in his own performance ability than in the band's. By playing a song like *Ran Kan Kan*, Tilo can erase mistakes made in the fiesta from the musicians' minds and get things going again through his performance. (Spanky 1996)

Erasing mistakes was not the purpose of playing *Ran Kan Kan* for the Valentine fiesta. He chose it "because I had a lot of energy to get out, and I knew that song would get the band into a participating mode." Tilo's strategy seemed to have worked based on the "bowing" response he received from the band members when the song had finished (see page 32 for description).

Choosing to play the right song at the right time, is yet another way in which Tilo can further entice the band to participate with him. As seen in the case of *Ran Kan Kan*, the appropriate song can encourage or initiate the musicians to follow their leader. Therefore, Tilo places a lot of importance on the songs he chooses for the fiesta.

Before each set of the Valentine fiesta, Tilo wrote down a number of songs which he felt would be appropriate to perform. They were not written in any particular order since Tilo lets his "feel for the moment" decide which songs will be performed and when. This is a task in which Tilo feels he must take the band into consideration as well as the audience.

For example, the reason why Tilo chose to begin the first set with a *salsa* was not for the audience (as was seen in the fiesta description (chapter 1) because few people like to dance to *salsa*). It was chosen because it was a song that the band knew how to play well, and would help them warm up.

> Let's say we just trashed a song. Quite often, in order to get things going, Tilo will choose to perform a song that the band knows how to play well in order to build up the confidence in the band. (John 1996)

Additionally, throughout the night, Tilo tries to play songs that he knows are particularly enjoyed by certain individuals in the band. Such songs are often called out by the musicians during the breaks between each number; these include *Artista Famoso, Juana la Cubana, Fiesta, Cumbia Folklorica,* and *Secretaria*. He usually places these songs at the end of a set. Tilo's reason for this is that:

> I have already taken the audience into consideration [during the first part of the set] in my song selection. By the end of the set they [the audience] are already into the fiesta so I can choose some *salsa* that the band prefers to play without having to worry too much about losing participation from the audience. (1996d)

When performing even the band's favorite songs, Tilo must play them in such a way so as to sustain interest from the very beginning until the end. He says that he needs to keep the songs "fresh and alive, just as if they were being performed for the first time." As I mentioned earlier, one way in which he accomplishes this is to choose different soloists each time they perform the song. The way in which Tilo participates with the music can also be used to sustain participation with the band members. As outlined in chapter 2, these techniques include an increase in tempo, the use of dynamics or timbral density, alternating between simple and complex rhythms. As I mentioned in both this, and the previous chapter, Tilo performs these with emphatic body movements, thereby demonstrating his enthusiasm. Coker calls this physical/musical interaction "performatives". They are the link between body processes and musical gestures (Coker 1972). These gestures become part of Tilo's "motor/musical grammar" (Middleton 1990:243)[10]. The musicians identify with his motor/musical cues, and participate in the gestural patterns, either vicariously, or physically, through their own performance.

Not only does Tilo try to sustain the bands involvement throughout a song, but he attempts to continue the musicians' interest into the next piece. As he explained to me, "I like to keep that feeling going by building off it and carrying it over into the next song". However, if too much time is taken in between two songs, then the flow can be seriously disrupted by the introduction of "dead space". When this happens, it is most often the result of the musicians having to find their music for the next song. Tilo asks that the band memorize their parts, not only to make transitions between songs smoother, but to allow them to better participate with the music and each other.

> When you have to read the music, you lose out on enjoying the music itself. You tend to focus more on reading the notes than on the feeling of the band and the audience. Also you can move your body; you can express yourself more if you don't have to read the music...it doesn't sound mechanical. Here, in Canada, it is very common to read music. It is like when I play with the jazz band; they have the music in front of them even though they already know the music. It becomes a security blanket. They become a slave to the paper and this is not good. They also lose out on a different kind of experience in the performance. It's like when we say "lets plays this song" they have to go and find the music and get it ready...if they play the song without the music then when we go "let's play..." they can go "OK!" and really enjoy the music." (Paiz 1996f)

This statement, as well as similar ones made by the musicians, is not specific to Banda Amistad. Avron White (1987) and Paul Berliner's (1994) study of jazz musicians reveal the necessity to internalize the music (through memorization) in order to fully partake in its performance.

Nonetheless, the band does not know the songs by heart, therefore, Tilo must be able to deal with this situation. Whenever the break between songs became too long during the Valentine fiesta, Tilo would begin playing a percussion intro which would keep the momentum going for the audience and those musicians who were waiting for the rest of the band to put their music in order.

It should be obvious by now that the interaction and participation between Tilo and the band is complex and multifarious. It is for this reason why Tilo and the rest of the band prefers not to incorporate sequencers into their performance.

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[10] The terms "performatives" and "motor/musical grammar" relates to the performance aspects of music as used by music scholars, and should not be applied as they would within the study of linguistics.

> Once you use sequencers, then you have no choice but to follow the machine. It becomes impossible to do any of the things I've talked about earlier concerning participation. You don't get any 'response' from a sequencer, and you can't adapt it to the feeling of the moment without having to get up and reprogram it. (Paiz 1995b)

Tilo places a lot of importance on the participation he creates with the different members of the band. Although he enjoys getting involved with the audience through his playing, his performance with the musicians is much more intimate and sincere.

> Even if I'm being true to the audience, most of them don't even know it. Within the band, there is a strong relationship which we build on and makes us want to participate with each other. I know when they are giving me their best, just like they know when I'm doing the same. (Paiz 1996b)

Conclusion

According to Ingrid Monson, the ability to anticipate and participate is the product of "the history of interaction between players, their cumulative musical knowledge of the repertory and transformative devices, their technical skill, their recognition of familiar passages and aesthetics in performance, and their ability to actively deploy sound to affect each other's musical behavior" (1995:88). Playing together for a number of years, the relationship between Tilo and the musicians, and between the musicians themselves, has allowed them to accomplish what Monson has outlined. Through my interviews and performances with Tilo and the band, it has become apparent that a "joining" or *acoplados* is the ultimate goal of the fiesta, and that one of the primary ways in which an individual can take part in this "oneness" is to arrive with, or attempt to change into, a positive mindset. By Tilo's definition, *la unir* demands interaction, and it is this social activity which everyone looks forward to. Of course, on a certain level the musicians want to play the music well, but for them, this is part of *estuvo buena la fiesta* (when the party comes together); "playing 'properly' means that the other band members will want to keep the participation going" (Roberto 1996). Therefore, as far as the band is concerned, they view the fiesta not so much as an opportunity to perform Latin-American popular music, but as a context in which to perform with each other. In other words, the music becomes the tool or vehicle for the band to join with one another.

> Camaraderie in the band gets everyone in the band going. We get hyper when we play with each other, and that makes everything

> more enjoyable. Knowing and enjoying the people you are with is the most important thing. You could have a stage full of great musicians, but that doesn't mean you are going to have a great time; the social thing has to be there first. (John 1996)

> I guess the main thing is that we are having a good time. We can still play poorly, but if we are having a good time then things will be all right. (Roberto 1996)

> The social level is more important than the musical. The musical level is expected to be there. The only thing is that you should want to play. (Troy 1996)

These statements relate to Berliner's findings with jazz musicians. He states that music is really about the relationships between all the players. When the relationship is "happening", you don't hear piano, bass, and drums; you hear the total communication of individuals. "Within their heightened state of empathy, the band members not only respond supportively to their cohorts, they also stimulate one another's performance" (Berliner 1994:390). Many of the band members stated that "once you experience this kind of *enfiestarse*, you keep going back hoping that you'll feel it again" (Roberto 1996) or as Tilo informed me, "it [what Berliner calls 'a heightened state of empathy'] is something you get a taste for and you develop a hunger for it. This is why I want the band members to, how I say '*tocamos con ganas*' (to play with an appetite or desire)" (1996g). Berliner provides further insight on this "performance hunger":

> Journeying together through the medium of performance, musicians assist one another in entering an incomparably intense realm of human experience where thrive diverse overlapping domains of sensitivity and knowledge: intellectual and "intuitive"; aesthetic and emotional; physical, sensual and spiritual; private and communal. Once touched by such experiences, the musicians retain them united as their principal goal, the standard for all performances. (Berliner 1994:394)

As I have already mentioned, Tilo knows and expects that the band will play the music at a competent level. What is most important for Tilo is that he creates an environment in which the musicians will enjoy performing with one another; that will encourage and sustain participation. As we have seen, he achieves this on three different levels: 1) the psychological (putting the band in a positive mindset), 2) his physical contact with the band, and 3) through the musical sounds which he produces. When all three levels come together in Banda Amistad's performance, then this is when Tilo calls their actions *afinación* (a finely tuned band). Over the course of time, these three factors have become second nature to himself and the band. Tilo's cueing, the stage set up, staying positive, the sound check, etc. are all automatic assumptions and given little thought. However, there is one practice which Tilo carries out each fiesta to create participation which the band can never predict; his construction of the set lists.

If music is the product of interaction between people, then, by choosing and leading which song will be performed, Tilo creates a temporal framework in which that interaction can take place. As stated in the previous section, when Tilo creates a set list, the songs are not arranged in any particular order. Between each set, he writes down a number of songs which he feels will be appropriate for the fiesta. From this list he tries to choose "the right song at the right time." If Tilo chooses a song that the band enjoys, and places it at an appropriate place in the fiesta, he can then sustain participation within the band indefinitely. For the Valentine fiesta this meant *salsas* at the end of each set.

Of course, the members of Banda Amistad are professional enough to perform well no matter what songs are chosen to be played. However Tilo needs to take the band into consideration so that he can keep them in a positive mindset. Tilo feels that "playing songs for the band allows the musicians to have a good time since they know that they are at the fiesta for themselves and not just the audience" (1996c). With eleven musicians in Banda Amistad, there are always songs chosen which are not enjoyed by everyone. However, none of the band members view the fiesta within the context of one piece. Many of the songs last approximately 5 minutes, and hence, composes only a small part of the entire event. However, if Tilo were to choose 3 or 4 consecutive songs which were not enjoyed by a number of the musicians, then they would begin to feel that "Tilo is placing greater emphasis on what the audience wants. This isn't good for fiesta since *enfiestarse* involves everyone, band included" (Roberto 1996).

Musical interaction is going to happen regardless which song is being played. However, performing songs which the band enjoys is conducive to the kind of participation needed to create a successful fiesta.

> If there are one or two musicians who are not in a positive mood then it is up to the rest of the band to try and get those one or two back into the fiesta. That is why it is important for me to lead by example. If that musician looks around and sees that the rest of us are having a good time, then he will get into the fiesta and join us.
>
> Everyone has a responsibility to do their best. Everyone must play together; they can't be fighting (personally or musically) with one

> another. The band must be able to enjoy what they are doing on an individual level if they are going to want to participate with me and the others. It is more than just playing music. It is a mental and physical, as well as a musical, 'tuning in'. (Paiz 1996b)

Obviously inviting participation is a little more complex than Tilo choosing specific songs. I have already mentioned the numerous physical and musical techniques which Tilo uses to sustain the interest and interaction between himself and the band. The musicians also use these techniques to create a positive atmosphere amongst themselves. Additionally, the audience plays a large role in how well the band will participate with each other.

If *acoplados* is Tilo's goal for the band in a fiesta, and he defines this as social interaction within a positive mindset (in which the band members place more emphasis on performing with one another and less on the music), then his task is a difficult one. *Acoplados* involves much more than just himself and the band. There is the interaction between the band members themselves. Everything that happens between Tilo and the band can just as easily occur within the horn section, the bass player and keybordist, the singers, etc., but the focus of this thesis is on Tilo's role as the "fiesta *jefe*".

I am not suggesting that Tilo controls how the musicians relate to one another. However, someone needs to keep the ensemble together so that each person's actions can come together in a complementary way. As Spanky describes:

> We come to the gig knowing what to expect so he [Tilo] doesn't have to do too much. We know what he has to do as much as what we have to do. It's when we all do it at the same time that things will go well; this is what Tilo has to try and bring together. (1996)

Not unlike Regula Qureshi's description of the Qawwali singer, Tilo needs a competent and well worked-out performing ensemble to convey his musical choices successfully during the fiesta. "The basis for such an ensemble is strong leadership and compliance on the part of the musicians. Of course, the band members share the same basic musical and contextual knowledge, but he alone is required to operationalize it in terms of strategy" (1995:140). Choosing the appropriate song during a set plays a large part in Tilo's strategy of inviting participation in the fiesta. With this accomplished, he can then move on to the third and final domain of interaction: that with the audience.

Chapter 4

Tilo and the Audience

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate the *acoplados* between Tilo and the audience. Of course, the nature of this interaction does not exist solely between Tilo and the 200 dancers in front of him. As I stated in the introduction, the fiesta process is marked by a total "joining" of all participants. Explaining how the three domains (the music, band, and audience) come together and relate to the fiesta process will be the function of the fifth and final chapter. However, before this explanation, it is necessary to outline the nature of Tilo's involvement with those he is performing for. This entails the audience's positive mindset, Tilo's connection with the audience, knowing how to choose the right song, dealing with "dead space", the hiearchy of a fiesta performance, crossing boundaries, and the audience's physiological and psychological response to the music.

The Audience's Positive Mindset

According to Tilo, "joining" with the audience during a fiesta is somewhat more difficult for him to accomplish than "joining" with Banda Amistad, especially when it comprises the establishing of a positive mindset. Tilo's involvement with the musicians is much more direct and personal. He knows them on an individual basis and relates to them as such. Furthermore, there is a professional relationship in which Tilo pays the band members to participate. On a certain level, being in a positive mindset is "part of the job" when going to perform at a fiesta.[1] On the other hand, the audience pays/hires Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad to put them into a positive mindset, and hence, be open to *acoplados*. The fact that a large number of people came to the Valentine fiesta illustrates that the audience was at least open to the idea, if not eager for *enfiestarse*![2]

The presence of a positive mindset within the audience is for Tilo, just as important as having a "positive" band. "Nothing is worse," Tilo explains, "than a negative audience who expects me to do all the work in getting the fiesta going. Fiesta just can't happen under such conditions" (1996c). However, comments made by audience members such as "for the price I paid to get in here, I expect to have a good time" and that "it's up to the band to make sure we have a good time"[3], suggest that it is Tilo's responsibility to ensure *enfiestarse*, or at least that he should initiate the fiesta process so that the "partying" can begin. Not everyone I spoke to from *la comunidad Latina* agreed with the two previous statements. What the majority did agree to, however, was that whether or not Tilo was responsible for initiating the fiesta process, all participants must practice *enfiestarse* together once it was underway. This in turn, will sustain the fiesta process and make the event "happen".

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[1] Although the band members agreed with this statement, they felt that being in a positive frame of mind is something they would want and have to do regardless, if they wish to have a good time at the fiesta.

[2] On the same night of the Valentine fiesta there was an other fiesta being held in the city. There were three local bands performing at this event to an audience of approximately 500 people. Those who chose to attend the fiesta at Hellenic Hall (approximately 200 people) demonstrated their loyalty to Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad and their willingness to *enfiestarse* with him. Of course, it also illustrates their patronage to the church by supporting the mortgage fund for *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*.

By Tilo's definition, and others, a fiesta which is *cachimbona* is the result of shared **interactions** between all participants and not simply the **reactions** of the audience to the band. Based on this and further conversations with Tilo, it seems as though an individual who is in a positive mindset is someone who interacts as opposed to reacts. As outlined in the two previous chapters, fiesta interaction requires that participants suspend the conflicts contained in daily social life during the occasion so that the "positive" *ambiente* needed for *la union* can emerge. Therefore, it is in Tilo's best interest for the audience to be in a positive mindset since the greater the number of such people, the easier it becomes for him to attain a "joining".

As mentioned above, what Tilo considers necessary for a positive mindset for the audience is somewhat different, and less intricate than what is required for Banda Amistad's "mental state". Quite simply, all Tilo expects of the audience is that they are open and willing to *enfiestarse* with the band and one another. The reason for such a simple request is that the audience is influenced by other factors at the fiesta besides that of his musical performance. Some of these include alcohol, food, the dancing and general socializing with friends and family. Tilo utilizes these elements along with his performance to begin the fiesta process. Additionally, since Tilo has been performing at fiestas in Edmonton for over 6 years, he has developed a relationship with a number of different audiences and the *comunidad Latina* in general. His relationship with each group of individuals will of course have a direct influence on the kind of interaction he receives from them.

The Valentine Audience

The majority, if not all, of those who attended the Valentine fiesta had heard Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad perform on prior occasions, and although the greater number of those in attendance were members of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*'s congregation, not everyone knew each other at the fiesta. However, everyone was an "intimate" of the band, and hence, was connected in at least one way. This is significant since it means that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad created not only the music, but the very group around them.

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[3] These comments were made by two different groups of young men (both from *la comunidad Latina* and in their late twenties) and on two separate occasions.

The audience present at the Valentine fiesta has come to expect a certain level of performance from Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, and they know that the probability of a *cachimbona* fiesta will be relatively high. Therefore, Tilo's relationship with this audience was already well established. Nonetheless, for this particular event it was important for Tilo to reestablish his relationship with *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*. The reason was that for the previous fiesta, a number of people from the *Comunidad Catolica de Habla Hispana* had decided to hire a different band. According to those who attended that event, the fiesta was considered unsuccessful because few people attended. Therefore, as Tilo explains, "this was a chance for me to reestablish myself. I wanted to show the community that they should keep hiring us because we can bring in an audience, and, more importantly, are able to create a successful fiesta" (1996d).

How the audience actually participates with the band is of course no surprise; it is through dancing. Therefore, Tilo's ultimate goal with the audience is to have everyone on the dance floor for as long as possible, "*todos caminando juntos*" (everyone walking [*enfiestarse*] together). Or as John Blacking states, "to involve people in shared experiences within the framework of their cultural experience" (1973:48). However, there are certain fiesta practices which Tilo must allow to happen before he himself can begin "joining" with the audience.

In other ethnographies of contemporary performances, authors have viewed the entrance to a performance event as "a transitional area...between the world of the everyday and the space in which the central business of the event is to take place" (Small 1987:8). This transitional area for the Valentine fiesta was at the entrance of Hellenic Hall where individuals could purchase their tickets. The acquisition of a ticket is a symbolic transaction which "ensures that only those entitled to attend do so, and the passing of money is the symbol of this entitlement" (ibid.). However, the exchange of currency is not meant to take on a "mercenary air". The purchasing of tickets, food, and drinks are all done in an effort to support the fiesta; "money is transformed into the sustenance of the community" (Keil and Keil 1992:110). In the case of this fiesta, it was to help pay for a church's mortgage.

Once the audience is in the hall, Tilo allows them to (re)establish a relationship. According to Tilo this is an important part of the fiesta. It is during this time that the fiesta *ambiente* begins to develop.

> Just because they walk into Hellenic Hall doesn't mean that 'the fiesta' is going to be there, especially at the beginning of the night. They need time to adjust from the 'outside' and get into the 'inside' where the fiesta exists. It takes time to transform and fill this empty hall with the atmosphere of fiesta. (Paiz 1996e)

By allowing the audience to talk to one another, reestablish relationships, and make new ones, the participants become relaxed and excited about the evening. They are happy to be with old and new friends, some of whom they have not seen since the previous fiesta. During this "reunion time" at the Valentine fiesta, Tilo played a tape of Tito Puente which helped set the musical tone for the evening. His reason for this was, "I try to choose music that will get them into a dancing mood, yet won't disturb their conversation with one another" (1996d).

Also accompanying their conversations was the consumption of food and alcohol. Drawing on John Blacking's statement, devices such as alcohol do not induce a certain state so much as help to suppress the cultural rules that have inhibited their natural expression to fiesta (1977:7).

Finally, Tilo relies on the organizers to make sure that the audience is able to get into the proper mindset. The status of the organizers play a very important role in the success of the event. Who these individuals are, and what they are promoting, will determine whether or not people will come out and support them.[4] *La Comunidad Catolica de habla Hispana* has a good reputation for organizing a *cachimbona* fiesta. This, in addition to the purpose of the event and the fact that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad was playing, brought out a "positive" crowd at a relatively early hour. Other menial tasks such as making sure that there are enough tables and chairs for everyone (and that they are arranged in such a way as to provide easy access to the dance floor), that alcohol and food will be served, as well as having the hall decorated, and even lighting (see chapter 1) can help prepare the audience for *enfiestarse*. As Roberto DeMatta writes in his description of Brazilian Carnivals, "carnival requires its own particular space. Even more closed spaces must be produced or transformed" (1991:81). Therefore, when a space such as Hellenic Hall is already well defined (i.e. a Greek community center), it has to be turned into a new and different area designed exclusively for fiesta.

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[4] Fiestas which are held to raise money for the band, or a particular individual are rarely, if ever successful. In order to bring out an audience, the fiesta must be held to raise money for a specific cause other than to "just make money."

Between 8:30 and 9:20 p.m. people continued to arrive at the hall, adding to the ever growing crowd in talking, drinking, and "atmosphere development". Tilo used this time to see what kind of mindset the audience was in, what the *ambiente* was like. Based on the volume of conversation (by 9:20 it had grown to a dull roar), laughter, physical interaction between individuals, and the number of people present (there were approximately 40 people by 9:20) Tilo could tell that the fiesta process had begun; it also helped that some of the audience members were approaching Tilo and the musicians asking when they would start playing. Taking all of this into consideration, Tilo wrote down a number of songs to be played for the first set. It would be from this list that he would choose which songs would be played and when. Therefore, not unlike Regula Qureshi's description of a Qawwali's preparation for performance, "setting factors are relevant to the performer's initial choices of music...in addition, the initial assessment of these factors continues to inform the performer's musical strategies throughout the actual performance procedure" (1995:187). In other words, Tilo's understanding of the setting and participants of the particular occasion is what makes him capable of selecting appropriate songs for his performance.

Once a positive atmosphere was established within the audience, and the hall had been "claimed" by those present as a place/space in which to *enfiestarse*, Tilo felt that it was time to begin his performance.

> The audience has had the opportunity to meet and talk with one another, they've had a few drinks, and now they want to move on to the next stage of the fiesta, the dancing! After all, this is the reason why they came here in the first place. (1996d)

Connecting with the Audience

The nature of the contact between Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad and the audience is largely dependent on the relationship which exists between them. As Roberto recalls, "since there were a lot of the band's friends and family in the audience, the performance atmosphere was relaxed and fun for everyone present" (1996). However, even though there was a air of familiarity at the fiesta, Tilo still expected to keep a professional relationship between the two groups. One way in which he keeps things professional is by having the band wear their uniform. In his study of jazz musicians, Avron White found that "the band uniform provided a sense of visual unity which was for the benefit of the audience " (1987:215). Therefore, uniforms make the musicians distinct from the audience by visually marking who they are and what their role is in the fiesta, which is to provide a musical context in which the audience can participate. In order for Tilo and the band to accomplish their role in the fiesta, the musicians need to have the respect of the audience. Tilo explains:

> This [gaining respect] becomes difficult to do if the relationship becomes too relaxed between the band and the audience. That's why I need to have a certain amount of professionalism; so that the audience doesn't take advantage of the band...like expecting us to play all night, jumping on to the stage, or coming to play the instruments. (1995b)

Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad need to have their separate roles of the band and audience established if they are going to encourage participation. Yet at the same time, Tilo wants the fiesta to be equally constructed and shared by both parties. Therefore, "the distinction is manipulated by both performer and audience to both maximize and minimize the separation between them" (Shield 1980:107). The band's uniforms offer an innocuous way of accomplishing this dichotomy.

Tilo's direct contact with the audience is not nearly as extensive as his involvement with the band. In fact, the most he did at the Valentine fiesta was to welcome and thank the audience for coming out. Although he played with energy, which, in itself, is exciting to watch, it was difficult for the audience to see Tilo up on stage, sitting behind his drum set. Therefore, Tilo must find another way in which to connect with the audience. He does this by using the two singers, Roberto and Jacqui, as his link to the audience.

The role of the singers is an important and multi-purpose one. First and foremost they are the voice (both figuratively and literally) of the ensemble; they are representing Tilo and the band to the audience. Additionally, they are representing the audience to the audience. By yelling out the names of different countries, families, and friends between songs, Jacqui and Roberto are charting a network of individuals with whom the audience can identify, each name adding its specific image to a shared picture of the fiesta.

Although the audience can see the entire band on stage, most of their attention is directed towards Jacqui and Roberto. Therefore, it is imperative that they keep in constant, positive contact with the audience. By talking to them, telling jokes, and announcing birthdays, the two singers build solidarity with the audience, reflect the communal bonds that bind individuals and groups, and affirm landmarks within the group.[5] Absence of these actions would lead to the severing of the link between the participants and the band.

Jacqui and Roberto's role as link between audience and band is a fitting one since they embody both methods of fiesta participation in their performance. Not only do they sing and play percussion instruments (the role of the band: music making), but they dance throughout the performance (the role of the audience). In fact, Jacqui and Roberto have a dual responsibility: in addition to transmitting the fiesta feel and message of the band through the performance of the music, the two singers also have the responsibility to receive messages from the audience (at the Valentine fiesta this came in the form of requests for particular songs, which were then passed on to Tilo).

On the whole, there is little direct interaction occurring between Tilo and the audience. So how does he participate with them? If his ultimate goal is to get the audience dancing, then the more obvious approach would be to do it through music. However, Tilo's methodology is somewhat more complex. He encourages dancing through the way he arranges songs over the course of the fiesta.

Choosing the Right Song

An important part of Tilo's role in the fiesta is to know what the audience wants to hear. In order for Tilo to keep the greatest number of people on the dance floor, he must choose songs which will continue to *llamar la atención*. But before he can do this, he must first evoke such a state. From his years of performing in Edmonton, Tilo has come to realize that the *comunidad Latina* has a definite hierarchy of preference when it comes to the different genres of Latin-American popular music. In descending order, *cumbia* is by far the most preferred, followed by *merengue*, *punta*, *chachachá*, *salsa*, and ballad.[6] The Valentine crowd clearly confirmed this popularity list.

As was already pointed out, 10 minutes prior to each set of the Valentine fiesta, Tilo wrote down a number of possible songs to be performed for that particular set. Using his "*sentir del momento*" (feel for the moment) Tilo attempts to choose the right song at the right time. Of all the Latin bands in Edmonton, Tilo is the only leader who chooses to follow such a procedure; other *jefes* provide their bands with pre-arranged set lists for the entire night before they go on stage. Tilo's reason for not structuring his set list is that "you never know what the fiesta will call for. I have to live in that moment and let my experience and feelings tell me what to play when the time comes"

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[5] For a similar description in Blues music see Keil (1966).

[6] It is difficult to place the ballads in terms of popularity. Based on my experience, few people dance to ballads at fiestas unless they are intimately involved. The fact that few people danced to these slow songs, could simply be the result of a small number of intimate couples present, or willing, to dance that evening.

(1996e). Although members of Banda Amistad are not completely satisfied with Tilo's insistence on prolonging his song choice until the moment arrives (the why will be addressed in the section about "dead space"), they do feel that it is warranted since, compared to "Canadian" audiences, the *comunidad Latina* are quite fastidious when it comes to a band's choice of repertoire.

> A Canadian audience is often more open to whatever kind of songs we play. In those situations I will usually play more *salsa* since this is what the band likes to play. For the Valentine fiesta, I knew the audience wanted a lot of *cumbia* so the sets were arranged around them. I also played some *salsa* to keep the band happy, and just to mix things up a little. (Tilo 1996f)

> Canadian audiences get a little crazier than the Latin audience. We can play almost anything and they [Canadians] will get into the fiesta. (Pato 1996)

> When we play for a Canadian audience they will take anything so we can play more of the songs we want. When it is a Latin crowd then we have to play more of what they want. (Troy 1996)

My own observations of "Canadians" at fiestas and dances confirm the above statements. During two years of fieldwork I attended 4 dances[7] in which Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad was hired to play for "Canadian" audiences. Such performances are rare in comparison to fiestas simply due to the lack of demand by the non-*comunidad Latina*. These dances typically occur twice a year; once in the winter and again in the summer. Because of the infrequency of such dances, these "Canadians" revel in the exoticism of Latin-American popular music and their sensuous dances.

During fiestas, "Canadians" (who are always outnumbered by *la comunidad Latina*) often mimic the different dance responses of *la comunidad Latina*, even to the point of which genres to dance to. In some instances, "Canadians" may be less inclined to participate in the fiesta for fear of not being able to dance "properly". Dances (as an event), on the other hand, provide a context which allow for uninhibited dancing. During such events, these participants, unless they have been taught otherwise (i.e. through dance lessons or attending fiestas previously), dance in a generic hip shaking/gyrating motion regardless of the genre being performed. This is much different from the *comunidad Latina* who have a specific dance for each genre, and, as one *comunidad Latina* member told me, "won't dance to just anything the band plays." Therefore, Tilo's choice of music, and when he chooses to play it, is of some importance.

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[7] Dances are not the same as fiestas since they are typically organized and attended by "Canadians" for other purposes than raising money for the *comunidad Latina*. Also, see page 23 for the difference between a fiesta and a dance.

I mentioned above that Tilo's "feel for the moment" allows him to know which song to play during a fiesta. The way he does this is through what he calls a "mental tuning in":

> When I'm playing, I become a dancer in my mind. I place myself in the audience as well as on the stage; I try to take part in the fiesta on both levels [as a musician and dancer]. This way I can decide what is needed to keep those around me in the fiesta. (1996a)

Therefore, not only does Tilo rely on his experience as a *jefe* to help him choose songs, he also uses his past experience as an audience member to help imagine himself amongst the participants. By combining these experiences, Tilo can choose a song which he feels the audience will best suit the fiesta *ambiente*. A good example of this could be seen in the second set of the Valentine fiesta. Tilo had built up the level of intensity in the fiesta until the fourth song which happened to be a *punta*. This particular genre is played at a very fast tempo, and requires a lot of physical energy to dance. Tilo explains his experience during this time:

> I imagined myself in the audience, dancing to the song. *Punta* is a very fast dance, and I pictured myself being a little tired after dancing to the song...so I chose to play a ballad. This would give everyone a chance to cool off, relax, and then get back into the fiesta. For other songs, I feel, as a dancer, that I want to bring things up more [dance to something faster] so this is when I will move to a *merengue* or *punta*. (1996e)

After having the opportunity to perform with Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, I have come to notice that there are other more practical and functional reasons behind Tilo's choice of song besides that of his "mental tuning in". Before I deal with the functions of the different genres, I will outline two of the more practical approaches behind Tilo's song selection.

Practical Reasons

When I first began investigating Tilo's ability to choose the appropriate song at the appropriate time, I assumed that a large part of his influence came from requests made by the audience. There are two instances in which the audience can make requests: while the band is playing, and by approaching Tilo during the breaks. However, as Tilo explained to me, satisfying requests is not always the best thing to do.

> Sometimes the audience is not experienced enough to know what song is needed to keep the flow of the fiesta going. This is why they have to trust me. Many times people ask me to play something at the wrong time. For example, audience members who come to the fiesta late ask for a song that was already played previously in the evening. This is not fair to others who have already heard us play the song. Also, some people, if they really like the song, ask me to play it again, as soon as we finished it! This might be good for that one person, but it doesn't mean that the rest of the audience is going to want to dance to a song played twice in a row. (1996b) (trans.)

Therefore, Tilo finds it is necessary to think of the audience in the singular; especially at the beginning of the evening. He needs to put the majority of the audience into fiesta before entertaining individual requests. Since a large part of the audience was well into *enfiestarse* by the end of the event, Tilo had little trouble in responding to the request for *Cali* (a song the band performed earlier in the evening) for their encore number at the Valentine fiesta. The song was played in the first set, and hence, there were a number of people who had not heard it that evening. Second, the audience was well into the fiesta *ambiente*. Third, there were a number of Columbians present at the fiesta that he knew would enjoy that song for either the first or second time, since the song is named after a large city in Columbia.

Another reason why Tilo is hesitant about responding to requests is that it can lead to disappointment for the audience, which in turn will hinder *la unir*. For example, Tilo does not "open the stage" to requests while the band is performing for the simple reason that the band might not know the songs being requested. Tilo feels much more comfortable when audience members approach him during the breaks. This way he can control the situation better. Tilo describes an incident which occurred during the Valentine fiesta:

> One guy came up to me asking that we play a particular song that the band didn't know. I could have just said 'we can't play that one," but this might have made him mad or upset. His negativity could have then spread to other members of the audience which is the last thing I want. Instead, since I knew the song he was requesting, I gave him a choice of four songs that the band knew which was similar sounding to the song he was asking for. The songs I gave him to choose from were ones we were going to play anyways, but this way that individual had a sense of control and satisfaction by choosing a song for the evening. A song that when he hears it being played he can say 'I picked that one.' It might

> not seem like much to you or me, but to him it gives a real sense of participation. (1996e)

Another simple and practical way in which Tilo achieved *acoplados* between and with the audience through the music at the Valentine fiesta was for him, Jacqui or Roberto, to announce the birthdays of those present, and have the band play the song. In doing so, no one's life cycle event is neglected, and those who were singled out get to enjoy a certain amount of prestige during the performance of *Feliz cumpleaños*.

The Function of the Music

Tilo's ability to *llamar la atención* with the audience is not simply a matter of playing the songs preferred by the audience; it depends on how he arranges the songs within the sets. Further inquiry into Tilo's approach to song selection and placement soon revealed that next to their aesthetic value, each genre has its own functional use. As he explains:

> It is important to know what to play and when to play it because the proper placement of songs will make the atmosphere start to rise. It will rise to the point that whatever song we play the audience will like it. Also, there might be a song that I know the audience enjoys, but if they are not in the mood for that song at that particular moment, then they won't appreciate it because they weren't expecting it and might have wanted to dance to something else. One of the dangers here is that the audience might interpret the song as being played poorly. But this is not necessarily the case. They simply weren't enjoying that song at that particular time. (1996f)

This perspective is not unique to Tilo. Conversations held with D.J.s (Disc Jockeys) from local dance clubs also alluded to the importance of placing even the most popular songs at just the right place in the evening in order to achieve the maximum reaction from the dance floor.

By looking at the genres Tilo performed at the Valentine fiesta, one can begin to draw general conclusions concerning his decision making process. Table 4.1 outlines the order of genres Tilo chose to perform over the course of the three sets. Each vertical column illustrates one set of the Valentine fiesta. Table 4.2 calculates the number of genres that were played in each set, with the total for the evening calculated at the far right.

Table 4.1 The sequence of genres that Tilo played in the first, second and third set at Valentine fiesta

Song number	First Set	Second set	Third set
1	*Salsa*	*Salsa*	*Cumbia*
2	*Merengue*	*Merengue*	*Merengue*
3	*Cumbia*	*Cumbia*	Ballad
4	*Merengue*	*Punta*	*Salsa*
5	*ChaCha*	Ballad	*Cumbia*
6	*Cumbia*	*Cumbia*	*Merengue*
7	*Punta*	Cumiba	*Cumbia*
8	*Cumbia*	*Merengue*	*Punta*
9	*Salsa*	*Salsa*	*ChaCha*
10			*Cumbia*
11			*Cumbia*
12			*Salsa* (encore)

Table 4.2 The number of each genre played at the Valentine fiesta.

Genre	First set	Second set	Third set	Total
Cumbia	3	3	5	11
Merengue	2	2	2	6
Salsa	2	2	2	6
Punta	1	1	1	3
ChaCha	1	0	1	2
Ballad	0	1	1	2

Knowing that the majority of the Valentine audience preferred *cumbia* over other genres made it relatively easy for Tilo to know which kind of songs to focus on for the event. The total number of *cumbias* performed that night illustrated in table 4.2 confirms his focus. By spreading the performance of *cumbias* over the three sets Tilo could maintain the interest of the audience members. Notice how there is a *cumbia* performed approximately every third song. Although Tilo could have performed more *cumbias* in the first and second sets, he decided to wait until the last set where he added two more *cumbias*, thereby creating a kind of "genre crescendo" for the fiesta. Additionally, as table 4.1 illustrates, *cumbia* provides the only example where two songs of the same genre were performed consecutively (i.e. in the middle of the second set and at the end of the third). Tilo explains why he chose to perform two consecutive *cumbias* in the second set:

> We had just finished playing a ballad, and the dance floor was quite bare. It was the middle of the set, so I wanted to pick things up quickly. I knew playing a *cumbia* would bring the most amount of people onto the dance floor [which it did]...I remember looking out [at the audience] while we were playing that song and I could see that they were really getting into it. Instead of disrupting their participation, I kept it going by playing a second *cumbia*. (1996d)

How Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad actually played these two *cumbias* also made a difference in Tilo's ability to *llamar la atención* of the audience and sustain it. As was explained in chapter 2, the "intensity" of the *cumbia* must be constantly renewed in order to keep the interest of the dancers and musicians. Tilo views the temporal process of a song as an undulating line of intensity. What this means is that as the *cumbia* was being played, Tilo would raise and lower the level of intensity through his style of playing. He began *Hacer el amor con otro* (the first *cumbia*) with a lot of intensity by playing with his "big sound" (i.e. combining the cymbals, drum set, and timbales together). After the introduction of the song, Tilo lowered the intensity by using just the timbales. In both instances Tilo was playing the same basic rhythm, but the two playing styles differed in timbral density and dynamics. By alternating between these playing styles throughout the song, Tilo felt that he could "renew the feel of the song...keep it sounding fresh. I have to keep the song from sounding the same throughout" (1996e).

Knowing when to change levels of intensity, as well as the songs, demonstrates Tilo's awareness of the potential of the music and his personal control of its inherent power, but more important, "he demonstrates his involvement with the social situation in a musical gesture that plays on the minds and bodies of his fellow performers and his audience" (Chernoff 1979:113). A good example of this can be seen in John Miller Chernoff's research concerning African drummers:

> As the music engages people to participate by actively and continuously integrating the various rhythms, a change at just the appropriate moment will pace people's exposure to the deeper relationships of the rhythms, involving an audience for different lengths of time with the various rhythms which have been judged to fit most properly. In the control of his changes, the drummer directs the movement of the whole occasion. People are involved with the rhythms of the scene, and the drummer, through the depth and care of his aesthetic command,

> organizes and focuses the expression of the power of both social and musical relationships. (Chernoff 1979:113)

As Tilo came to the end of *Hacer el amor con otro*, he saw that the *cumbia* was receiving a large response from the audience. Also, he noticed that a number of people were coming onto the dance floor just as the song was about to end. This latter point resulted in Tilo having to make a decision. "I didn't want to end the song just as the people who were coming on to the dance floor were getting into it. At this point in the fiesta I had two choices. I could have repeated a section in the song and make it longer, or I could go into another *cumbia*" (1996e).

Obviously he chose to perform a second *cumbia*. However, Tilo did not want to interrupt the flow that had been created by the music. Instead of cutting off the entire band at the end of the song, he cued me to continue playing congas while he played a short percussion interlude. This gave the band the opportunity to put their music in order for the next song, and kept the flow going for the audience by not interrupting their dancing. To help renew the feel for the second *cumbia*, Tilo increased the tempo which helped raise the intensity of the performance. He also finished the song with a "big ending" which made it audibly different from other *cumbias*. Instead of finishing the song by cutting the band off on the downbeat, he had the musicians sustain the last chord while he played a flurry of notes on the drum set. His use of the "big ending" is "to help change the flow from one song to the next. If every song ended the same then it would be boring. Also, if a song goes really well then I like to end big to release all of the energy that was built up during the song" (ibid.).

From the description of these *cumbia* performances we see that Tilo uses this genre to bring and keep a large amount of fiesta participants onto the dance floor. Table 4.3 outlines the functions of the genres performed at the Valentine fiesta along-side the response typically received from audience members of the *comunidad Latina*. I should mention that the following "genre functions" were developed through my own observations of fiesta events, and were confirmed and/or edited with Tilo's help.

Table 4.3 The function and response of the different genres performed at fiestas

GENRE	FUNCTION	DANCERS' RESPONSE
Cumbia	- to initiate and sustain a "guaranteed" response from the *comunidad Latina* - used to bring a large amount of people onto the dance floor - used to introduce another *cumbia* or genre of a faster tempo (i.e. *merengue* or *punta*) - *cumbias* with *salsa* modulations used to introduce *salsa* songs	- strong response from audience, indicated through shouts, applause, whistling, and increased numbers on the dance floor - simple side to side shuffle dance pattern, characterized by a 1-2-3-kick motion - can dance in either small groups (usually no more than 8), or as a couple
Merengue	- to initiate and sustain a relatively good response from the *comunidad Latina* - used to bring a large amount of people onto the dance floor - *llamar la atención* by providing a faster tempo than the previous song	- response is similar to that of *cumbia*, however, the audience is often less "vocal" about it (i.e. through shouts and whistles) - primarily a couple dance where the two bodies remain close to each other while the hips rock side to side, except when one partner spins the other in front of him or her.
Salsa	- to initiate a relatively good response from the musicians in Banda Amistad - tests audience's response to *salsa* - introduces all genres, however, ballads rarely follow *salsas* or vice-versa - provides context for instrumental solos	- poor response from audience, few on dance floor - a couple dance marked by complex footwork with occasional spins
Punta	- to initiate and sustain a strong response from the *comunidad Latina* - used to bring out the maximum number of people onto the dance floor - to bring the fiesta or set to a climax	- strong response from audience, indicated through shouts, applause, whistling, and increased numbers on the dance floor - vigorous hip shaking dance - primarily danced in small groups, however some couples dance in a "*merengue* couple style"
Chachachá	- to sustain a response from the *comunidad Latina* - used to maintain numbers on the dance floor - test audience's response to *salsa* - provides context for instrumental solos	- mediocre response from the audience - can dance one of two ways: 1) *cumbia* style 2) *salsa* style
Ballad	- offers a physical rest for the dancers by slowing the tempo of the music drastically	- poor response from audience, the least danced to - strictly a couple dance where two people hold each other closely and turn together in a circular motion by rocking side to side

After looking at table 4.2 and 4.3 I am sure that many readers are curious about the relationship between the use of *salsa* and the achievement of the fiesta process. Throughout this thesis I have repeatedly stated that *salsa* receives a poor response from the audience when performed at fiestas. Yet, according to table 4.2, Tilo chose to perform it at the Valentine fiesta just as often as the second most popular genre (*merengue*) and more so than *punta*. Does he not threaten the attainment of "the joining" by performing *salsa*? After attending 12 fiestas, and seeing the majority of these events result in *enfiestarse*, I would have to say no. The reason is that if Tilo can perform *salsa* at the most opportune time, then the negative response from the audience will be minimal. As an aside, one might make the assumption, based on what was written in the previous chapters, that when *salsa* is being performed, everyone sits down in their seats in disdain; this is simply not the case. There are a few members of the *comunidad Latina* who do enjoy dancing to *salsa* and request them.

At the start of this thesis, I mentioned that a fiesta includes the involvement of all participants; audience and musicians. Because the band, including their *jefe*, particularly enjoy performing *salsa*, Tilo inserts a number of them. I should state that choosing a *salsa* to begin the Valentine fiesta was atypical for Tilo. His explanation for this was, "I could tell that crowd was in the mood to *enfiestarse*, so I didn't feel any pressure in having to get them going right from the start" (1996e). Choosing to perform a *salsa*, as was explained to me, was twofold. First, Tilo wanted to "jump start" the band by choosing a song they liked and were comfortable playing. This follows Tilo's performance ideology as seen in chapter 3 - getting the band to *respecta la música* (literally "respect the music", or what he refers to as "playing for yourself first") and in a positive mindset before the audience. Second, he was testing the audience's receptivity to the performance of *salsa*. The fact that only one couple came on to the dance floor[8] confirmed Tilo's suspicions that he would have to focus the sets around *cumbias*.

As stated in chapter 1, the general reason why *salsa* receives such a poor response from the audience is that they find it difficult to dance to. This is a significant reason because it states that the audience does not feel they know how to participate properly to that particular genre. Rather than attempting to dance to *salsa* (and perhaps embarrass themselves), the audience would rather not participate at all.[9]

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[8] As described in chapter 1, later performances of other *salsas* produced a similar effect; fewer people on the dance floor.

[9] Interestingly, "Canadians" do not make any distinctions between different genres of Latin-American popular music. This is largely due to their lack of knowledge and ability to differentiate between the genres. Despite this, I have noticed that dance floors tend to increase in "Canadian" population during *merengues*, regardless whether they know the "proper" dance or not.

However, if Tilo can *llamar la atención* of the audience, and get them to *enfiestarse* through the performance of other genres (i.e. *cumbia*, *merengue*, and *punta*), then they will be more tolerant and responsive to the performance of *salsa*. For the Valentine fiesta, Tilo chose to perform *salsa* at the end of the first two sets. By this time the audience was already well into *enfiestarse*. Therefore, they were less hesitant to dance to the genre than they were at the beginning of the sets.

If Tilo chooses to perform *salsa* as often as *merengue* to satisfy the needs of the band, then why is the number of *puntas* (a genre enjoyed by both band and audience) so small (see table 4.2)? It turns out that where Tilo places *puntas* plays a big role in the way he structures the sets, and the fiesta itself. Although *cumbias* were the most favoured genre by the Valentine audience, Tilo used and saved *puntas* to bring the set to a climax (notice in table 4.2 that there is only one *punta* per set). Since *puntas* have the quickest tempo in all the genres performed at the fiesta, and it involves vigorous dancing from the audience, Tilo finds that this genre "brings out maximum participation from the audience." As can be seen in table 4.1, he preceded each *punta* with a *cumbia*. According to Tilo this was to help amplify the intensity of the *punta*, due to the faster tempo. Additionally, "by placing a *cumbia* just before [the *punta*] I knew I would have a lot of people on the dance floor. With everyone already dancing, I could then bring the set to a climax by going into a *punta*" (1996e).

The final function of the music during fiesta pertains to the flow of one song into the next. In other words, the function of a song is to introduce the next one. There are two methods in which this can be accomplished. The first one pertains to the use of tempo. In order to build the level of intensity during a set, Tilo will follow one song with a faster one, especially when he chooses two songs of the same genre. Therefore, a *cumbia* could lead into a *merengue*, or a *chachachá* might precede a *cumbia*. However, *salsas* and chachachás seldom introduce each other since they both receive a less than "ideal" response from the audience. To play both genres consecutively may lead to the clearing of the dance floor.

Another example of "song introduction", and a more effective way of introducing *salsa*, occurred during the Valentine fiesta between the last two songs of the first set. Tilo knew that he wanted to end with a *salsa* (as I have already explained, he chooses songs that the band likes to play at the end of sets). Therefore, as he sometimes does, he picked a *cumbia* that contained *salsa* modulations. *Salsa* modulations are sections within the *cumbia* which change into a *salsa* rhythm. According to Tilo, "these help prepare the audience physically [through dancing] and mentally [by hearing the *salsa* sections] for the next song" (1996e). In general, Tilo's song selection allows him to control the flow of one genre into the next so as to fluctuate the level of intensity within the flow of the fiesta process.

Dead Space

Ironically, the basis of Tilo's strategy for keeping the audience on the dance floor (choosing the most appropriate song for that point in time) can sometimes create a situation which hinders *acoplados*. Since Tilo does not know what song he will choose until the moment arises, he cannot give the band a structured set list which would allow them to put their music in order before they begin playing. Therefore, when a song ends there is a certain amount of "dead space"[10] which both the band and audience must endure while Tilo decides which piece should be played next. What happens during this "dead space" can greatly influence the audience's response for the following song.

The main effect "dead space" can have is to interrupt the flow of the fiesta. As long as there is music being performed, then there is interaction between the band, the audience and the two groups themselves. Everyone is feeding off the other's energy, and enjoying the fiesta, creating communitas. Once the music stops, both groups of participants fall back into their prescriptive roles, thereby discontinuing the communitas. This is why it is important for Roberto and Jacqui to speak to the audience in between songs. The singers need to keep the connection between the band and audience from being severed. They accomplish this by making the audience feel like they are a part of what is happening on stage. If Roberto or Jacqui fail in this task, then the audience becomes disinterested and leaves the dance floor. Such an instance occurred at the Valentine fiesta.

During the first set, there was a lack of communication between the singers and the audience (meaning Roberto and Jacqui were not talking to the audience) at the end of the second *merengue* which made it difficult to keep the crowd on the dance floor. At the end of the song, the dancers and band members all turned to Tilo and waited to see what was going to happen next. By the time Tilo decided on the next song, and the musicians had their music in order, approximately twenty seconds had passed and many had left the dance floor. Although twenty seconds may sound like a short amount of time, it was more than enough to raise the audience's consciousness about where they were and what they were doing. Many audience members explained that they become "lost" or "caught up in the dancing/fiesta" and do not pay close attention to their surroundings; individuals "disengage themselves from the experience while it is being experienced" (Kapferer 1986:198). During the performance of music, the audience knows what their role is and how they should fulfill it. Once a song ends, they realize that they are standing in front of the band and those sitting at the tables. As one audience member told me, "without the music you begin to feel somewhat uncomfortable by not knowing what to do with your body." The longer the amount of "dead space", the more uncomfortable or disinterested participants become, which, ultimately results in their leaving of the dance floor.

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[10] "Dead space" is a term used by the musicians in Banda Amistad to refer to the time between songs where there is little interaction occurring between fiesta participants.

The Hierarchy of a Fiesta Performance

Just as the *comunidad Latina* have an ordered preference for different genres of Latin-American popular music, so, too, do they have a hierarchy for the musical performance of a fiesta. Conversations with a number of fiesta participants resulted in the following hierarchy of performance: genres, specific songs, and the level of a "good" performance. Although not part of the hierarchy, members of the *comunidad Latina* automatically assume that the above three items will be performed by a live band and not through a stereo system (i.e. recordings).

Genres and Specific Songs

By now you may have noticed that I have concentrated more on the genres rather than individual or specific songs Tilo chose to play at the Valentine fiesta. The reason is that Tilo feels, and many audience members agree, that the important thing is for the band to perform the genre most preferred by the audience, regardless of which song it is. "I would rather dance to 10 bad *cumbias* than one 'perfectly' executed *salsa*," states one fiesta participant. In fact, a number of audience members informed me that "it doesn't even matter if they play the song badly, as long as it is what we want." Even Tilo supported this statement: "it is more important for the band to play a genre the audience likes, even if we can't play it very well" (1996g).

The reason why there is such emphasis placed on the genres performed is that fiestas offer one of the few opportunities for the *comunidad Latina* to dance with one another. From my conversations, very few audience members said that they would dance to recordings of *cumbias* and *merengues* at their homes. Therefore, any chance they receive to dance to Latin-American popular music is always taken advantage of.

Additionally, and quite simply, if the audience can dance to some of their favourite songs, then all the better. The fact that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad knew a number of the audience's favourite songs, allowed them to fulfill the second level of the fiesta hierarchy. The band's ability to do so made the achievement of *acoplados* that much easier.

The Level of a "Good" Performance

While attending some fiestas during my fieldwork, I became interested in how an audience could *enfiestarse* with what I thought of at the time as a poor or mediocre musical performance.[11] I soon discovered that this tolerance for a "mediocre performance" had a lot to do with the way people listen to music as it is being performed in a live(ly) context.

According to many of the participants at the Valentine fiesta (band members included), they become so involved in the fiesta that "we don't even notice mistakes [musical or technical] made by the band." Additionally, many audience members differentiate going to a bar and dancing to recorded music from dancing at a fiesta; "with recorded music I expect a certain level of perfectionism. With a band, I know they are only human so mistakes will be made" (audience member). Of course, there is a limit as to how poorly the band can perform before it prevents the realization of a successful fiesta. Interestingly, many of the audience members felt that "how well a band had to perform depended on how many people were present at the fiesta." In other words, the level of performance is placed on a continuum in an oppositional relationship to the number of people in the audience (see figure 4.1); "the more people there are, the less the band has to play well" (Valentine fiesta participant). By extension, "if there is a large crowd then we can get each other going...you know, participate. When there isn't [a large audience], then we have to depend on the band to put us in the mood, and if they aren't playing well, then it's [the fiesta] not going to happen" (audience member).

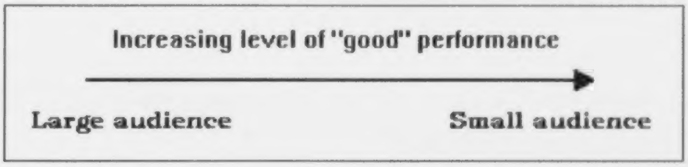

Figure 4.1 Level of "good" performance required, in relation to the size of the audience

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[11] My notion of poor was based on playing out of tune, the band not sounding together rhythmically, and/or stage presence.

For the Valentine fiesta there was a relatively large audience, which according to the above meant that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad did not have to put on one of their better performances. The fact that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad performed "above average" only made it easier for the audience to *enfiestarse*.

The audience's greater tolerance for mistakes once they begin to *enfiestarse* can also be related to Tilo's choice of songs. Even if he does choose an inappropriate song, if the audience is well into the fiesta process, they will be less inclined to leave the dance floor. Such an incident occurred at the Valentine fiesta during the third set. Along with the band, I was quite surprised when Tilo chose to perform a ballad so early in the set (it was the third song). His explanation for this choice was that "I didn't want the set to peak too soon" (1996d). What was even more unusual was he followed this ballad with a *salsa*. Fortunately, the audience was well into the fiesta process and were eager to keep *enfiestarse*. Had Tilo chosen such a combination of genres at the beginning of the evening, I do not believe he would have received such a favourable response.

The Necessity of a Live Band

During different fiestas, I would often ask audience members if one could ever have a fiesta without a band. They unanimously agreed that such a notion was unthinkable. Most of the responses given were along the lines of: "Having a live band is much better, it's more intimate. You get to share in the music-making with them [the band]. You're there when the music is being made.", and "With a band I not only hear them play, but I get to see them play." Therefore, having Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad at the fiesta allowed the audience to participate visually as well as aurally. This is why Tilo feels it is so important for the band to "look like they are having a good time."

> Our performance at the fiesta is as much for the eyes as it is for the ears. If the audience sees us enjoying ourselves...dancing, laughing...then even if we make [musical] mistakes, the audience can still have something to participate in [the visual]. (1995b)

Having a live band at a fiesta is not only preferred, it is required because of the expected interaction between the musicians and audience. Renee Shield calls this required interaction "resonance":

> The quality and the amount of interaction between the performers and the audience members in performance constitutes resonance. The

> band's performance cannot exist of itself, in isolation, because the audience has to approve it by its presence and its activity and, in so doing, confirm it as performance. This is why playing a jukebox does not provide the adequate music for a dance occasion -- there is no interaction. (1980:117)

Sara Cohen's work on "Rock Culture in Liverpool" also reveals relevant results concerning this issue. She first states that live performances involve a sense of occasion which necessitates preparation and organization (i.e. buying a ticket, changing clothes, arranging transportation, etc.); this in turn creates a sense of anticipation and commitment. Second, the different forms of aural, oral, and visual communication at an event "are related to the complex interrelationship between audience and performers" (1991:94). Finally, this interrelationship gives rise to "the continual creation and re-creation of an 'atmosphere' and makes each performance immediate, direct, and thus accessible in impact and also spontaneous, unpredictable, and thus thrilling since the possibility of the unexpected always exists" (ibid.:95).

All audience members informed me that the fiesta is a place where they can come together and take part in a kind of interpersonal musical sharing which can not be achieved with pre-recorded music. Live bands "bring together people who have something in common and understand the rules of the event" (Frith 1992:177). Even the interactions amongst the band can be inviting to the audience. Joking together on stage, supporting and encouraging each other is plainly visible to the audience. For example, Roberto would often yell out the name of the musician who was taking a solo; "I do this to offer and encourage verbal support" (Roberto 1996). A more elaborate example of encouragement and support was seen in Tilo's drum solo during *Ran Kan Kan* which drew "bows" from the band (see chapter 1). "Such displays of mutual admiration by improvisers can put listeners at ease and draw them into the group's intimate musical conversation" (Berliner 1994:463). As one audience member told me: "You go to a fiesta to share in the ambiente with other people. This includes the band. I don't want to go [to the fiesta] and listen to tapes or CDs; I can do that at home! I want to be a part of the music while it is being made." This parallels Tilo's own preference to perform with "live" musicians as opposed to pre-programmed sequencers (see chapter 2).

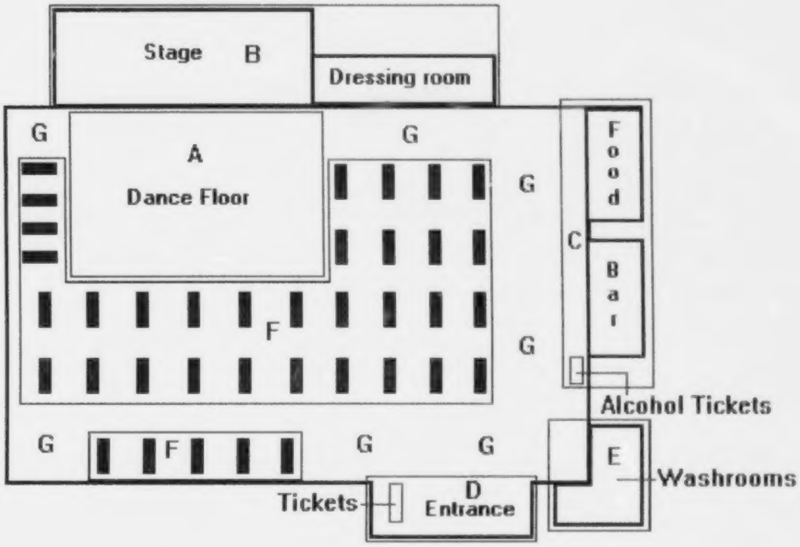
An example of audience/band and audience/recordings responses was demonstrated at the Valentine fiesta; it was during the time that the musicians took their breaks. In chapter 1 I described how during both band breaks the younger audience members started to dance when techno-dance music was being played through the sound system. However, when problems occurred with the CD player, preventing the playing of techno-dance songs, there was no other choice but to play Tilo's tape of Latin-American popular music; the result of which was the clearing of the dance floor. This reaction reinforces the supposition that the audience needs to have a live band in order to *enfiestarse*. As one audience member explained:

> You come to a fiesta to dance with the band. You also take your break with the band. The purpose of the music played in between the sets isn't to dance to. It is to keep the "fiesta sound" in the air. If things went quiet [i.e. no music being played] then the party mood might start to come down.

These breaks also offer the band an opportunity to participate with the audience on a different level. As was explained earlier in this chapter, individuals can approach Tilo and the band to make requests, talk about the music, or just enjoy each other's company/conversation. It is during this time that the boundary between musician and audience is lowered, and both groups become part of the same social intercourse.

Crossing Boundaries

Within the spatial confines of the fiesta there are different boundaries which can be found; boundaries that, when crossed, determine who one is and what her/his actions are. For example, when individuals cross the threshold of the fiesta (the front door of Hellenic Hall) they become fiesta participants. When someone crosses the boundary from the tables and chairs (an area for drinking, eating, and conversation) to the dance floor, then s/he becomes a dancer and must participate in a very specific way. To do otherwise would cause concern from others present, and possibly inhibit them from participating by distracting their attention from the fiesta norm. All social interaction which occurs in the fiesta is surrounded by an action determining boundary (see figure 4.2 for other examples).



A = dancing
B = music making
C = ordering, buying
selling
D = purchase ticket
E = relief, fix appearance
F = converse, eat, drink, smoke
G = transitional area

Figure 4.2 Layout of boundaries and their determining social actions

As I have already mentioned, Tilo's goal is to have as many people dancing in front of the stage as possible. This requires the audience to stop whatever actions they are doing at the time -- and, as was seen above, these actions are determined by the area they are in -- and cross however many boundaries are neccesary to bring themselves onto the dance floor. In order to entice the audience to do this, Tilo uses the most powerful tool at his disposal: music, or more specifically, loud music. Music is able to transcend the fiesta boundaries and invites the audience to the most important area of fiesta, the dance floor. The louder the music is played, the greater the number of boundaries that can be crossed. Using music as a vehicle to engage *enfiestarse*, then, becomes an effective one. Tilo's intention to cross multiple boundaries is illustrated in the quote below:

> I could play just loud enough so that only the people on the dance floor could hear the music. But I want to reach everyone in the fiesta, even the ones in the bathroom! I need to fill the hall with sound...the fiesta has to be overflowing with music. (1996e)

Physiological and Psychological Responses to the Music

Enfiestarse at fiestas involves certain physiological and psychological responses, which are manifested in specific physical actions. At the Valentine fiesta these responses included the number of people on the dance floor, the yells and applause after and during each song, smiles, and energetic dancing. Any decrease in these actions would signal the audience's disapproval of the direction Tilo was taking the musical occasion. As I have already explained, Tilo's choice of song sequence plays a large role in eliciting these responses.

Tilo's statement that he wishes the music "to reach and invite everyone in the fiesta to participate" by performing at a loud volume may have an explanation which is more complex than he realizes. John Shepherd writes that through its sounds, "music can evoke and give life to our internal bodily existence" (1994:136). If the human body reacts sympathetically and empathetically to sound as produced by others then this means that "the music is being *felt* in addition to being 'heard'...sounds enter the body and are in the body" (ibid.:137). The louder the music, the more it is felt. The percussive nature and rhythmic emphasis of Latin-American popular music enhances the physiological effect on one's body. Evan Davies states that "the regularity of rhythm is enhanced by the over-balance of the bass and percussion. The output of excessively high volume creates a physiological sensory response which floods one's sensory modality" (1969:279). Audience members made similar comments on the way music affects them:

> The music just gets inside me. I can't resist it, I just have to get up and dance!
>
> I can feel something growing inside my body. It starts in my stomach and works its way up to my head. Once it hits my brain then I can't resist the urge to move to the music!

Research done by William C. Sturtevant (1968), Andrew Neher (1962) and Gilbert Rouget (1985) suggests that the sound of music, more specifically drums, can have an hypnotic effect on its listeners. Neher states that a drum sound consisting of low frequencies, played at high amplitudes, "stimulates the whole basilar membrane which transmits impulses along many different nerve pathways to a large part of the brain" (1962:152). Since drums produce low frequencies, the ear can withstand higher amplitudes of sound, thus being capable of transmitting more energy to the brain (Williams 1968:133) and increased sensory enjoyment through the rest of the body

(Rouget 1985:173). Neher also found that sounds produced with a rhythm near the basic alpha brain wave activity (approximately 7 to 9 cps) can also have captivating effect on the listener.

However, participants at the Valentine fiesta were more than just listeners; they were dancers. According to work done by Judith Lynne Hanna (1983, 1987, and 1988), this kind of physical action has both physiological and psychological effects. Concerning the former, the exercise of dance increases the circulation of blood carrying oxygen to the muscles and the brain, and also alters the level of certain brain chemicals. This all begins in brain cells called neurons which fire electrical signals that are stimulated by seeing, hearing, or smelling and associated thoughts. Stimulation of a specific part of the brain (the hypothalamus) then sets off a chain reaction of hormones which in the end produces adrenaline and glycogen, chemicals that provide the body with energy (1988:11-14). This increase in energy can provide a dancer with a feeling of invigoration. Additionally, vigorous dancing, and the resulting cascade of biological reactions may lead a person to release endorphins thought to produce analgesia and euphoria (1983:28).

If dancers do reach a state of euphoria, then their "altered state of consciousness can create a feeling of rejuvenation and hypersuggestibiltiy (Hanna 1988:15). This plays an important part in the fiesta as a number of participants reported experiences "of attending the fiesta after a long tiring day and being rejuvenated," or "feeding off the energy around me." This "hysterical contagion" is characterized by "the spread of highly emotional behaviour within a collectivity in which the spread is rapid and in the nature of a geometric progression" (Kane 1974:297).

By combining the physiological and psychological effects of a performance, a clearer picture begins to develop as to how a musical event can have a considerable and consequential effect on an individual. Steven Kane's findings on ritual possession in a Southern Appalachian religious sect is not unlike "the fiesta which infects the bodies of its participants" (Tilo 1996). As suggested by Kane (1974:301), fiesta euphoria appears to be a learned and complexly 'over-determined' response whose emergence is contingent upon the interaction of certain physiological cues (hypoglycemia, increased adrenaline), psychological variables (beliefs, motivations, expectations, needs, range of experience), and external cues (music, crowd excitement, alcohol, food).

The ability of the human body to allow synesthesia, the capacity to perceive and transmit simultaneous stimuli in several senses, is what Tilo counts on to entice participation. His visual and aural presentation of the music invites the audience onto the dance floor where "resonance," "hysterical contagion," or "an altered state of consciousness" can take place. The power of dance, then, lies in its cognitive-sensory-motor and aesthetic capability to create moods and a sense of situation for performer and spectator alike (Hanna 1977:216).

Obviously the audience's participatory response in the fiesta is a complex one. Nonetheless, Tilo is still the catalyst for such interaction through his choice and placement of repertoire. How successful he is in choosing appropriate songs for the fiesta is easily measured by the kind and amount of response he receives from the audience. Their responses and criticisms are offered as a gesture of support, to help him achieve his purpose. The audience and band are just as interested in achieving a *cachimbona* fiesta as Tilo. They all make a contribution to the success of the occasion, and they behave with the understanding that what they do is an act of artistic participation as well (Chernoff 1979:153).

The fact that all of the responses outlined in this section were present at the Valentine fiesta, suggests that this fiesta was *cachimbona*!

Conclusion

As seen in this chapter, the interaction between Tilo and the audience occurs on many different levels. He relates to them on personal/professional, individual/group, and direct/indirect levels; all of which are done through the medium of music. Just as Tilo's connection with the band involves a reciprocal involvement, so does his participation with the audience. The Valentine fiesta can be seen as a dramatic presentation for all those involved. In a sense, the musicians and the audience play interactive roles as actors from their respective platforms. Just as the design of the hall, the stage and the lighting frames the band's activity for the audience's observation, it also frames the audience's activity for the band to observe. As will be explained in the final chapter of this thesis, both sets of performers form a communication loop in which the actions of each continuously affect the other. Although sound serves as the principal medium binding the musicians and the audience, the audience responds as much to the "stage presence" as they do the music.

Another parallel between the Tilo/audience and Tilo/band relationships is that the audience has also come to learn and expect what will occur at the fiesta. What they might consider as their spontaneous reaction to the performance of Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad, is, what Schechner would consider, a kind of "illusion". "Humans are able to absorb and learn behavior so thoroughly that what may seem as new behavior knits seamlessly into spontaneous action" (1986:367). Schechner views an audience's behavior as a circular spectrum "where deep acting blends into ordinary behavior" (ibid.: 366). Whether or not the Valentine participants realized that their actions were conditioned responses (physiological, psychological or otherwise) based on past experiences of fiestas was of little concern to them. What was important to the audience, and Tilo as well, was that they came with the intent to *enfiestarse*. Approaching the occasion with a positive mindset played a large role in making this a successful event. As Hanna writes, "performance is immediate, emotionally charging the performer and audience in sporadic or continuous interchange if both are receptive" (Hanna 1983:197).

For the audience, then, social interaction is considered to be the primary focus of the fiesta. The fact that a successful fiesta can be created with a poor or mediocre musical performance only strengthens this supposition. This is not to say there is little or no importance attached to the music. As was seen in this chapter, the audience places a hierarchy on Tilo's use of music. At the very least Tilo must 1) choose an appropriate genre; following this is 2) the playing of a specific song; finally 3) a good performance of the song. The fact that Tilo achieved all three at the Valentine fiesta made it possible for him to attain *acoplados* with the audience. On the other hand, it may be argued that a D.J. could fulfill these three requirements. That the audience requires the presence of musicians further supports the importance of social interaction at a fiesta.

Not long ago, I mentioned the different boundaries which exist in the fiesta, one of which was that between the audience and the band. Tilo's goal is to lower this boundary and allow a kind of interaction, what Shield (1980) calls "resonance", that blurs the distinction between the two. The higher the "resonance" (social interplay between the two groups) the better the fiesta. It is at the interactional frontier between musicians and dancers that the link between aurality and social experience is most potently forged (Waterman 1990:186).

In the end, it was Tilo's interpretation of the audience's responses which allowed him to musically construct the fiesta. It was in constant response to the expressed and implicit needs of the dancers passing before his eyes that made him decide which songs to choose. The temporal line which he created by stringing together specific songs at specific times was the framework in which *enfiestarse* occurred. It was the music which invited everyone to take part in the making of a community. When the desires of the audience came into line with the construction of the sets, a "dramatic testimonial" was created in which Tilo's "calls and instrumental responses were shaped through time by the committed 'shouting' audience that yelled to him immediately when he had touched a nerve" (Keil and Feld 1994:205).

Chapter 5

"Joining" it all together

Tilo's part in the creation of the fiesta process is a substantial one. His role as *jefe* involves three kinds of relationships; as we have seen, they are with the music, the band, and the audience, all of which form an intricate and volatile web of interaction. Throughout the last three chapters there has been one common element in these relationships which Tilo felt was necessary for the development of the Valentine fiesta: a positive mindset.

The majority of the Valentine participants (musicians and audience) had attended fiestas prior to this one and consequently had an idea of what to expect. They already knew what their respective roles were and what they had to do to fulfill them. They knew that the fiesta has a musical system and a social system which were related to a set of interactional opportunities and had certain expectations that underlie them (Irvine and Sapir 1976:81). All participants agreed that the best way to carry out their role was with a positive mindset. If they arrived at the fiesta with a negative one, then it was Tilo's task to change it.

In chapter 2, I explained that Tilo feels he must create *acoplados* with the three domains of the fiesta in a particular order. Over the course of the last three chapters I have outlined how he relates with each of them individually. The purpose of this final chapter is to bring the three together and demonstrate how, at the Valentine event, the fiesta process was put into motion, the product of which was the "joining" of all domains. This process involved three parts: creating a feedback loop, a musical construction of place, and the building of intensity through his choice and placement of songs.

The Feedback Loop

Whether or not the Valentine participants were in a positive mindset, they did have a certain amount of "fiesta knowledge" which allowed them to be effective participants in the creation of the fiesta process. What I mean by this is that Tilo's understanding of the fiesta must overlap with participants' "fields of experience". No matter how remote, there needs to be some commonality between these fields in order for participants to relate to each other, both individually and as a collective whole. Figure 5.1 illustrates different realms of fiesta understanding.

The outsider, non-initiate, and initiate (i.e. a *comunidad Latina* audience member) circles seen in figure 5.1 represent three individuals with differing amounts of fiesta experience and by extension, knowledge. On the left side of this figure, there is no overlap between the fiesta outsider and the fiesta information (i.e. knowledge on how to *enfiestarse*). On the right side of figure 5.1, one can see that the fiesta initiate, because of her/his previous experience from attending fiestas, has gained more knowledge on how to *enfiestarse* than the non-initiate. Even the non-initiate has some fiesta knowledge based on past or similar experiences.

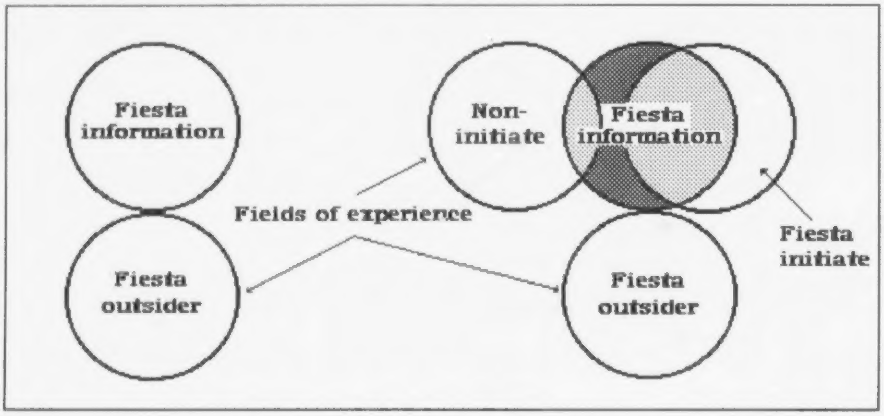


Figure 5.1 Different realms of fiesta understanding[1]

Figure 5.2 illustrates what happens when there is a large amount of overlap between Tilo's field of fiesta experience and someone else's. The circle with the darkest border represents the fiesta event, along with all its information on how to *enfiestarse*. Circle A represents Tilo's field of fiesta experience. The part of his field which enters the darker circle represents all of his fiesta knowledge based on his experience. The same is true for circle B, which represents a Valentine fiesta participant's field of fiesta experience. The area where circles A and B overlap illustrates shared knowledge on how to *enfiestarse*; the areas where there is no overlap are indicated by a lighter color. Figure 5.2 also demonstrates how information gathered and processed during the fiesta can affect the interaction between Tilo and another. The greater amount of overlap there is between the two (i.e. as would be the case with the members of Banda Amistad and the majority of the audience), the less chance of misunderstanding when he attempts to create *acoplados*. As John Blacking writes, "musical performance can express social attitudes and cognitive processes, but it is useful and effective only when it is heard by the prepared and receptive ears of people who have shared, or can share in some way, the cultural and inividual experiences of its creators" (1973:54).

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[1] As adapted from Hanna's "realms of dance understanding" (1987:27).

Figure 5.3 illustrates a similar process, but where there is little overlap between Tilo and the individual. Notice how there is a greater amount of differences (the lighter shade of the FIESTA circle). This increases the chance of miscommunication, and decreases the possibility of creating a "joining". Treating the fiesta as a complex form of communication requires, then, a shared understanding or negotiation of certain gestures and responses; shared knowledge and expectations are critical. Such a negotiation, especially a successful one, involves the participation of both sides.

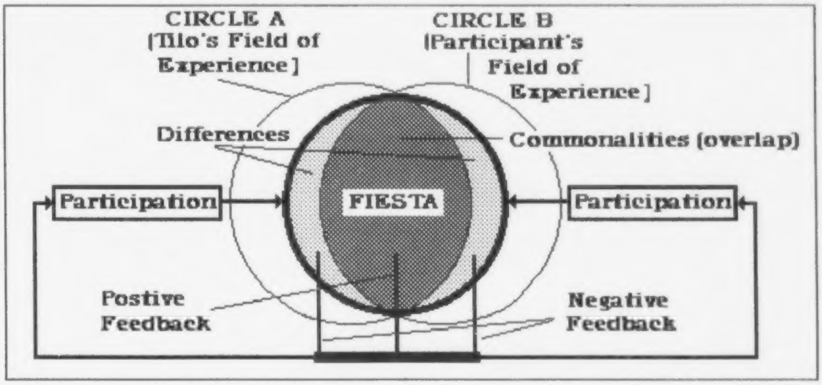
CIRCLE A
[Tilo's Field of Experience]
CIRCLE B
[Participant's Field of Experience]
Differences
Commonalities (overlap)
Participation
FIESTA
Participation
Postive Feedback
Negative Feedback

Figure 5.2 Fields of fiesta experience with large amount of overlap

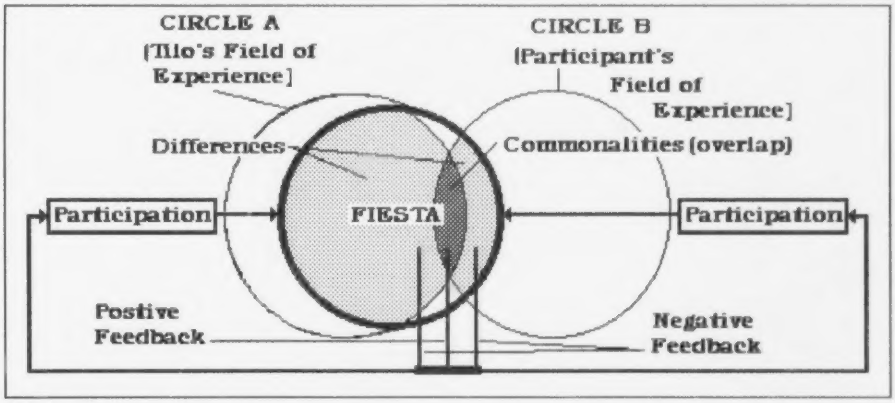
CIRCLE A
[Tilo's Field of Experience]
CIRCLE B
[Participant's Field of Experience]
Differences
Commonalities (overlap)
Participation
FIESTA
Participation
Postive Feedback
Negative Feedback

Figure 5.3 Fields of fiesta experience with little overlap

The preceding figures illustrate a communication feedback loop with another individual. However, as I mentioned in chapter 4, Tilo thought of the Valentine audience in the singular. Figure 5.4 outlines the interaction between the two constituents of the fiesta, the band and the audience. As each group joined Tilo in *enfiestarse* through the music, they all come together in the hopes of creating a *cachimbona* fiesta. As figure 5.4 demonstrates, the process began with the *acoplados* of Tilo and music, which was then followed by the band, and finally the audience. Of course, these three kinds of *acoplados* can occur instantaneously, but Tilo views this succession as "the natural order of fiesta".

As the band and audience joined Tilo, there was at first an individuated *acoplados*. What I mean by this is that, just like Tilo, the musicians and audience members each made their own "joining" or relationship with the music. As was seen in the previous chapters, there were two kinds of performers at the Valentine fiesta, namely those playing music, and those dancing to it. Each group influenced their own with "initiates" or "sustainers" of participation (i.e. the horn section dancing for the band, or a good dancing couple for the audience). This kind of interaction is represented as the center box in figure 5.4.

Even though each group of performers could have created *acoplados* amongst themselves, they still needed, and expected, Tilo to lead them towards *la unir* of the FIESTA (the largest box in figure 5.4). It was only when all participants were freely interacting with each other that Tilo felt the fiesta process began to emerge. Anything else would have just been a concert (when there is little interaction with the audience), or a dance (when there is little interaction with the band).

The success of the Valentine fiesta was largely fueled by the kind of feedback which was generated. Some examples of negative feedback included improper balance with the sound system, poor acoustics on the stage, too much "dead space", and lack of communication between the singers and the audience in the first set. Fortunately the first and last of these four examples were rectified as the evening progressed. Positive feedback was largely the result of Tilo's most important modus operandi, choosing the best song for the moment; all other participatory responses were framed by this action. Additionally, each rotation of a positive feedback cycle meant that Tilo could sustain and maximize *enfiestarse* from everyone, since each rotation caused the fiesta *ambiente* to grow exponentially; up until *estuvo buena la fiesta*.

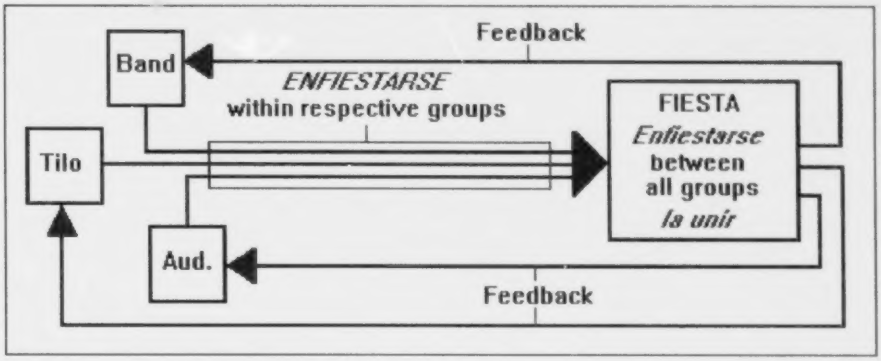

Figure 5.4 Feedback loop with all fiesta participants

At the beginning of the Valentine fiesta, the cycle could have produced either a positive or negative feedback. As the night progressed, increased positive feedback, caused the cycle to become stronger and stronger. This continued until the point where the fiesta could almost sustain itself. The "positiveness" had become so efficacious that it would take much more negative feedback than at the beginning of the evening to cause the fiesta to collapse. The greatest threat to the positive feedback, and thus the fiesta, was the amount of "dead space" between songs. Fortunately, Roberto, Jacqui and Tilo prevented this from happening in the last two sets by keeping the fiesta flow moving through their conversations with the audience.

Musical Construction of Place

Since this Valentine fiesta was held in Hellenic hall, a Greek community center, it was necessary that the place be "claimed" by the participants as a space in which to *enfiestarse*. This was first accomplished by physically transforming the hall with decorations, the setting up of food and drink stands, and lighting. Once this was accomplished it was up to Tilo to construct the fiesta process through the performance of music. Music does not then simply provide a marker in a prestructured social space, but the means by which this space can be transformed; it leads to the musical construction of the place (Stokes 1994:4). Through their involvement with the music, all participants can surpass the reality of the place (Hellenic hall) and enter into the fiesta space. Before I go any further, I should differentiate what I mean by the terms "place" and "space".

Following Giddens, place "refers to the physical setting of social activity as situated geographically" (1990:18). In his book *The Consequences of Modernity*

Giddens points out that "there is a phantasmogoric separation of space from place", and that places become "thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them" (1990: 88). Martin Stokes elaborates on this with the notion that "amongst the countless ways in which we 'relocate' ourselves, music undoubtedly has a vital role to play" (Stokes 1994:3).

Through his "musical construction of place" (Stokes 1994), Tilo also defined certain spaces, along with their boundaries. The most important of these spaces was, of course, the stage. It was here that the medium for all participation originated. If the fiesta process began with Tilo (recall figure 5.4), then how appropriate it was that he positioned himself in the center of what he considers "the sacred space of the fiesta" (recall that the band is set up in a circle around him). It was from this position that, through his "big sound", he could reach out to the band and the audience.

Based on Tilo's hierarchy of the fiesta process (music, band, audience), one can envision the Valentine fiesta as a series of concentric circles with Tilo in the center, radiating outwards, inviting participation, and becoming part of it all at the same time (see figure 5.5). Each circle in figure 5.5 represents a boundary which Tilo had to cross in order to invite participants to *enfiestarse*. Through music he was able to do this. As the fiesta progressed, these boundaries became blurred, so that maximum crossing and interaction could occur from both sides.

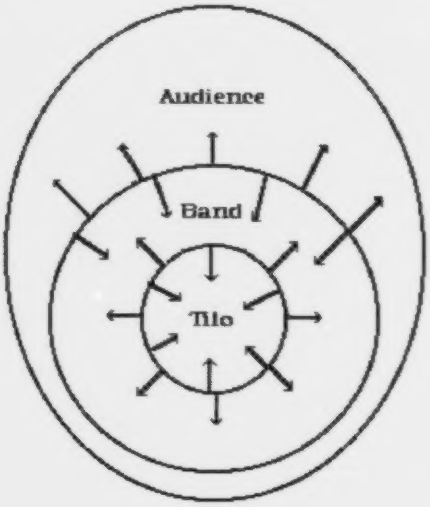

Figure 5.5 Representation of the Valentine fiesta in concentric circles

As George Lipsitz states, music has a remarkable relationship to "the poetics and the politics of place" (1994). It is able to transcend physical, metaphysical and temporal barriers. The fiesta process was put into play through music by performing it, dancing to it, listening to it and even thinking about it. Depending on how the audience was placed by social facts, music could "leap across boundaries and put into play unexpected and expanding possibilities" (Stokes 1994:24). Therefore, music and dance provided the arena for pushing back fiesta boundaries. Through the use of "cultural technologies" the fiesta participants were able to undertake "the changing spatiality of social production" (Berland 1992:39).

The most obvious, and effective, "cultural technology" used by the audience to blur boundaries was physical proximity. The closer the audience was to a boundary, the greater the chance they would cross it. Of course, it was easy for the audience to cross the majority of boundaries found in the fiesta (see figure 4.2), but the most important and difficult one to transcend was that between the musicians and the dancers. The *ambiente* created on either side of this boundary was needed to create and sustain the fiesta process. Both groups of performers fed off the other's energy in addition to their own; both were intrigued by the "happenings" across the border. By placing themselves as close to the front of the stage as possible, they could "feel the energy on the other side" (audience member). However, no matter how close they came to this boundary, they did not cross it physically; the elevated stage prevented them from doing so. Even during fiestas where the band was playing on the floor, there was still a general agreement and respect for the band's space. Nevertheless there was one person who wanted to enter into this "sacred space". During the second set, one of the organizers jumped onto the stage while the band was playing. Once on stage, he looked at all of the musicians, started to dance and smiled profusely (perhaps because he was pleased to have conquered the boundary). Although such actions can sometimes bother Tilo, he was tolerant of this individual.

> I can understand why he came up. The audience sees the stage as a special kind of place where the fiesta begins. They want to come up and be a part of it physically. But, sometimes a non-band member's presence can interrupt our playing, which will then have a negative impact on the fiesta. In this instance, the fiesta was already underway, and he was well known by the audience, so it didn't bother me. He wasn't up there for all that long anyways. (1996f)

If the band/dancer boundary is not physically crossed, then how did each group take part in the other's form of *enfiestarse*? It was accomplished through the use of gestures. As seen in this thesis, some of the gestures used by Tilo and other fiesta participants included playing and dancing with enthusiasm, clapping, smiling, and yelling or shouting encouragement. When one group saw these positive actions from the other, they were able to visually and emotionally take part in their actions. Just as emotions produce gestures, gestures can reproduce emotions (Appadurai 1990:106). Therefore, the crossing of the boundary leads to what Appadurai calls "the creation of 'communities of sentiment' through the use of standardized verbal and gestural forms...what matters most is the emotional effects of gestures (ibid.:109). It is when these gestures are properly performed by the musicians and the audience, that the two groups of participants were united.

At the Valentine fiesta everyone joined in the merriment and the reinvention of space. The crossing and blurring of boundaries shifted the fiesta from being impersonal and disconnected to being personal and in Victor Turner's sense, "communitarian" (DaMatta 1991:82). The establishment of communitas -- where there is a "communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders" (Turner 1969:96) -- is essential and desired for fiesta. The Valentine fiesta allowed participants to escape from a feeling of "being alienated in everyday social structure, and enter the glow of communitas among those with whom they share some cultural or biological feature" (Turner 1977:47).

The separation from everyday social routines and the sense of leisure that the fiesta created is also an important part of how communitas is created. According to Turner, leisure has aspects of both "freedom *from*" and "freedom *to*". It is freedom from "the regulated rhythms of factory and office ...and freedom to enter, and for some to help generate, a world where one can transcend social structural normative limitations" (ibid.:42). The sense of community and solidarity which fiesta engenders, and the interrelationship of its visual and physical elements (i.e. the music, dance, movement, formal clothing, decorations, food and alcohol) makes the occasion sensual in nature. The interrelationship of these components allowed participants the opportunity to release tension, express emotions that were otherwise suppressed or denied, and indulge in behaviour not permissible in other contexts. This, in turn, leads for some, to a sense of euphoria or catharsis.

According to Hanna, catharsis is a complex physical-cognitive process of recollecting and releasing past repressed emotions and tensions and thereby coming to terms with them. The process encompasses experiencing anxiety or conflict and then releasing energy and frustration (1988:22). The Valentine fiesta allowed for such a pleasurable expenditure of energy.

As was explained in chapter 4, what makes dance and music making, the total of which Tilo defines as fiesta, such an effective expenditure of energy is due to its multi-sensory response. There is a least one form of expression which all participants can take part in during fiesta (be it dancing, listening, watching, playing, eating or drinking). A fiesta, which could be seen as a secular ritual, depends upon the forging of perceptual coherences across multiple sensory modes.

> The participants in a ritual [share] communicative experiences through many different sensory channels simultaneously...Verbal, musical, choreographic, and visual-aesthetic 'dimensions' are all likely to form components of the total message. When we take part in such a ritual we pick up all these messages at the same time and condense them into a single experience. (Leach 1976:41)

During a fiesta there are a number of actions which collectively can overload the body with a multi-sensory experience that leads to an ecstatic state. These actions include: the sight of the musicians, the sight of the audience, the touch of one performer's body to another's in dance or in music-making, the touch of the body to the musical instruments, the sound of physical movement, heavy breathing in high energy performances (dance and musical), the smell and ingestion of food and drink, and the pleasures of animated interaction with friends and family. All of these visual, auditory, and kinesthetic factors can have a strong effect on fiesta participants.

Although each person's experience of the fiesta is a subjective and individual one, it can greatly influence those around her or him. This is not to say that the *enfiestarse* at the Valentine fiesta lead to a feeling of mass unison. Rather, it was a "shifting hierarchy of individual expression against a background of unison support" (Stone 1982:135). Put simply, if a person was happy, the fiesta made it possible to multiply his or her happiness as it gave voice to that feeling. If one came to the fiesta depressed, then the event offered him or her a chance to forget his or her sadness. Those who attended the fiesta created a "focused gathering" (Goffman 1961) which, since all wanted to achieve the same thing (to have a good time), attempted to support and initiate any actions or emotions that would lead to a successful event (i.e. the creation of a strong positive feedback loop). Thus, attending the fiesta expressed shared values which excited sentiment and bound people together.

This binding of people can lead to a "special flow of lived time", "imagined universes" (Waterman 1990:215), a "mutual tuning-in process" (Schutz 1977:116), or the creation of a "We rationale" (Asch 1988:93). The striving for a sense of euphoria at a fiesta indicates a desire or need for loss of "self" to emotions, sensations, and thoughts invoked by and through the occasion that take one over, obscuring all sense of normal self with the place, time, obligations, and responsibilities that it entails. In so doing, all participants can take part in the fiesta equally, each sharing in other's, as well as their own, experiences.

Since fiestas create a communal setting, they often build up a spirit of elation that is infectious. Once boundaries have been blurred, the feedback loop (figure 5.4) has been generated enough times to have produced enough strength to sustain itself, and the "We" has overcome "us and them", there is an "energy" produced within the fiesta space which cannot be ignored. Many audience members informed me that this energy is what they looked for and/or felt when they came to the front door of Hellenic hall. Additionally, the greater the number of participants there were, the easier it became to achieve a loss of self (both figuratively and literally), and take part in the "special flow of lived time" where everyone shared in, and was influenced by, communal ecstasy. As one audience member told me, "the energy created is from being here with so many people doing the same thing; being here for the same reason...our music is something that has to be shared to be experienced." However, as Schieffelin (1985:717) points out, if participants are unresponsive, or unwilling to *enfiestarse*, then the energy of the performance drains away, causing the fiesta to collapse.

Fiesta, it can be concluded, is an expression and celebration of "sociability" (Frith 1992:177). The success of a fiesta is, of course, dependent on all participants' actions. However, when there are such a large number of people (the Valentine fiesta had approximately 200 attendants), it is necessary for one person to assume leadership (see Schutz 1977:117). Since the fiesta and all its actions are framed by the performance of music, it is appropriate that Tilo undertake such a role. How he musically constructed the Valentine fiesta could be seen in the way he built intensity through the structuring of the songs.

Building Intensity

If social organization is interaction ordered through time, then at a fiesta, the music establishes an external framework for the synchronization of social activity. Tilo's choice of music plays an important role in establishing the emotional texture of a fiesta. "Musical sound conditions temporal experience and establishes a normative context for ritualized social interaction" (Waterman 1990:213). As I have shown, a large part of what participants will experience depends upon how they mentally approach the fiesta. The majority came to the event with anticipation and a positive mindset. Keeping them in such a state, and achieving *la unir*, meant that Tilo had to draw the audience into the task of participating in the construction of the occasion itself. He accomplished this on three different levels: individual songs, individual sets, and all sets.

Individual Songs

In chapter 2, I outline Tilo's conception of "building intensity". It was here that I first mentioned Tilo's idea that "each song must begin and end with a bang". What happens in-between is a series of climaxes which sustains participation from musicians and dancers alike. Using his "big sound", placement of solos, big endings, changing of tempos, gestures, and the contrasting sections of the song's form itself allows Tilo to accomplish his task. Figure 5.6 recounts a similar graph found in chapter 2. However, in this graph I have added the audience's visible and audible response to Tilo's fluctuations of the song *Fiesta*'s intensity level. The measurement of the audience's level of intensity was based on the number of dancers who would exhibit high levels of enthusiasm. This included their yells, whistling, hands waving above their heads, exaggerated dance steps, and facial expressions.

If you remember, *Fiesta* was the song which brought the Valentine fiesta to its climax. Once again, notice how the fluctuation differences decrease as the song comes to its end. Tilo realizes that as the song progresses, and the longer it is played, the more likely musicians and dancers will become uninterested in the song, and lose interest in *enfiestarse*. By increasing the regularity of intensity fluctuations, he could sustain their participation.

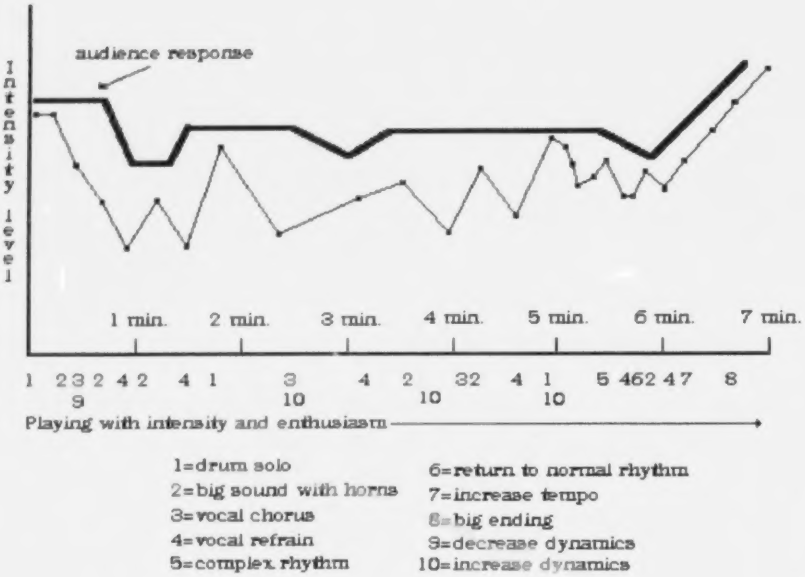

Figure 5.6 Representation of intensity levels of the song *Fiesta*

Individual Sets

Just like the songs, Tilo stated that he wants each set to "begin and end with a bang". As was seen in chapter 3 and 4, sustaining *enfiestarse* means keeping as many people on the dance floor as possible, and keeping the musicians performing at an optimum level. If Tilo's goal for the Valentine fiesta was to attain maximum *enfiestarse* from everyone involved, then he was placed in a peculiar predicament. In order to keep the audience dancing he had to play *cumbias*. Keeping the band happy meant the performance of *salsa*. In order to keep a balance between these two groups, so that both remain in a positive mindset, and so that both could take part and feed off the energy from everyone around them, Tilo had to choose songs for the fiesta carefully.

Table 4.1 illustrated that the first two sets began and ended with a *salsa*. As was seen in chapter 3, Tilo chose this genre because he knew that this is what the band prefers to play. Once *acoplados* with the band was underway, he could then have the audience join in (as seen in the fiesta process, figure 5.4). Choosing *salsas* for the end of the sets was also for the band. As Tilo explains,

> Because I had taken the audience into consideration earlier on, and made sure I had constructed an atmosphere that they wanted, I could choose songs for the band...and the audience would accept and enjoy the *salsa*. I can't follow the fiesta from the audience's perspective all

> night. It's my job to bring the fiesta up to a level where they will be receptive to whatever we are going to play. (1996f)

Therefore, by spreading *cumbias* throughout each set (the audience's favourite genre), and inserting the remaining genres, he could sustain and eventually create a sense of acceptance that would allow the audience to dance to a genre they would prefer not to.

Finally, Tilo usually chooses *puntas* to bring each set to a climax. However, in the second set, he chose to perform a *punta* earlier, as the fourth song. Although his explanation for this placement was unclear, he did say that by placing a ballad after the performance of the *punta* countered the climatic effect that could have otherwise occurred.

> I just started to build up the set again from the ballad. Also, they [the audience] needed a rest from the energetic dancing that *punta* brings out. (ibid.)

All Sets

Tilo viewed each of the three sets of the Valentine fiesta as having different functions. Put simply, the first set was to initiate the fiesta process, the second, to sustain it, and the third was to bring it to a climax. Based on the audience and band's participatory responses, Tilo accomplished his goal.

By the end of the first set, there were only about 80 people in attendance. Tilo knew that if he could not initiate *enfiestarse* with these individuals, then those coming later would be less inclined to pay the $10 needed to gain entrance, since they judge the fiesta on how well Tilo has created a fiesta *ambiente* by that time (see page 121). It is at the beginning of the fiesta where the risk of a negative feedback cycle can build and grow, thereby making it difficult to create a successful occasion.

One noticeable difference between the sets is that Tilo chose not to play a ballad in the first set. Since ballads always decrease the number of dancers, it also lowers the amount of participation. Keeping as many people on the dance floor as possible was the best way Tilo could maximize his opportunity to initiate *enfiestarse* in the first set.

When Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad began their second set, the audience had grown to approximately 175. Tilo had accomplished his goal of initiating the fiesta process in the first set, so "it was not that difficult for me to keep them participating" (Paiz 1996e). Keeping the audience on the dance floor was simply a matter of doing more of the same.

For the final set of the evening, Tilo brought the fiesta to a climax in three ways. First of all, he played more *cumbias*. Second, he began the set with a *cumbia* which brought the audience on to the dance floor right from the beginning. Third, he chose specific songs that he knew the audience would like. In chapter 4, I explained how, as far as the audience was concerned, the choice of song is less important than the choice of genre. However, since Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad could perform a number of preferred songs, Tilo chose to save them for the last set.

> At the beginning of the fiesta, everyone just wanted to get dancing. It didn't really matter what song we played, as long as it was the right genre. By the end of the night, to really bring the fiesta to a climax, I needed to play the popular songs that the audience knows and loves. (1996e)

Of all the methods of inviting and sustaining *enfiestarse*, Tilo's choice and placement of repertoire is by far the most important. Of course his gestures, positive mindset, and relationships all play an intricate role in the responses received, but Tilo places particular emphasis on song placement. In the case of the Valentine audience, this was especially important, since they expected and demanded a specific genre. According to them, a bad fiesta performance is when the band does not play songs which they prefer to dance to. Tilo knows this, and adjusts his performance strategies to fit within these parameters.

Conclusion

From this case study of the Valentine fiesta, it should be apparent that the success of such an event is determined by the level and intensity of "sociability", or what Tilo calls a "joining". The importance of fiesta lies in the social activity produced by the involvement and interaction of all participants, not in the music itself. Both audience and musicians placed more importance on social interaction than the music or how well it is played. However, participants' interactions are framed and influenced by Tilo's choice and placement of repertoire; it becomes the vehicle for *enfiestarse* and hence the fiesta process. The fact that Tilo Paiz y sus Banda Amistad performed well, only made the achievement of *la unir* more likely.

Fiestas in Edmonton can be viewed as a human encounter which is mediated by organized sounds. In that encounter is created a complex web of relationships, and of relationships between relationships, that exists for the duration of the event. The language in which these relationships are established and maintained is not strictly verbal, but rather one of gestures. At the center of the web are the relationships which Tilo and the band create between the sounds. Radiating out from these, and feeding back into them, are the relationships among the musicians, among the audience, and between the musicians and the audience. As was seen throughout the course of this thesis, Tilo participates with band and audience members physically, mentally, and musically.

When individuals began to *enfiestarse* during the Valentine fiesta, they were taking part in a secular ritual in which they modeled relationships as they felt they ought to be, and on what they expected. As ritual participants, they were not just learning about these ideal relationships, and by extension an ideal society, but actually bringing them, and it, into existence for as long as the fiesta lasted. Such a product is why fiestas arouse such strong and positive emotions in its participants.

The Valentine fiesta used as a case study for this thesis was one of many that occured throughout my two years of fieldwork. Collectively, fiestas create a sense of communal *ambiente* for the *communidad Latina* in Edmonton. These events provide not simply an occasion to party, but an opportunity to create community; a community which helps others. As I stated in the introduction, fiestas are one of the few times in which the *comunidad Latina* comes together. Based on what has been presented in this thesis, one could argue that if fiestas create the context of which they are a part, then these events create the community in and of which fiestas take place. Fiestas *are* the *comunidad Latina* and vice versa. They exemplify what the ideal *comunidad Latina* should be.

However, that a fiesta is held does not necessarily mean that it will lead to a "joining" or the ideal community will grow. Such an experience needs an opportunity to grow; it is something which is established over time, or through practice (i.e. repeated fiestas). For Tilo, it comes into existence through the construction of the fiesta space, and the kind of feedback generated from his choice of repertoire. In other words, based on his relationship with the music, the band, and the audience, and using his knowledge and experience of fiesta, Tilo must achieve a self-sustaining positive feedback loop which will generate maximum participation from all those involved in the event. So, through his choice and placement of songs, he can musically construct a space where social interaction blurs all boundaries, thereby allowing all participants to equally share in the communal *ambiente* of FIESTA.

As I come to the end of this ethnography, I would be remissed to say that my work is in any means a complete study of fiestas in Edmonton, nor was it meant to be.

My interpretation of the occasion was intended to provide the reader with an understanding of how Tilo's role, and his actions within this role, can lead to the musical construction, the contextualization, of a fiesta. While some may feel that the description of the Valentine fiesta may seem too positivistic, it is important that they remember that this event was one of the most successful occasions during my research. While an unsuccessful event could have been chosen to demonstrate its musical contextualization, my sense of loyalty to Tilo, along with other determinants (see chapter 1), lead me to choose the Valentine event. However, I am aware that other popular music scholars and anthropologists feel that one of the best ways to understand a topic of study is to first look at what it is not. Unsuccessful actions can often reveal substantial information about boundaries and cultural practices.

Although Tilo's actions always seemed to produce the necessary requirements for the fiesta process, each of his responses took little time to implement. In other words, Tilo's decision to choose a particular song, or play in a particular way, takes place with the passing of less than a few minutes, or even a few seconds. Therefore, the total amount of time of the accounts described in this thesis probably took less than one quarter of the length of the fiesta itself. My decision to focus on the key points in the Valentine event where Tilo's actions had a positive impact on the fiesta process was not to hide any poor decision making. While there are instances between Tilo's key decisions that would make an equally informed description of a fiesta, (i.e. the decision making of the other band members) I will leave that for someone else to write.

Considering this study in a wider interpretational context, one might choose to place greater emphasis on the audience and the way in which dancing affects the contextualization of fiestas. This would prove to be particularly valid within the "fiesta field" since the specific dance steps to the performance of Latin-American popular music are what makes the *comunidad Latina*'s participatory response unique from other audiences (i.e. "Canadians"). Another approach would be to replace the micro lens used to study the Valentine event with a macro lens which would allow one to view fiestas in Edmonton within a larger context. For example, as a performer within the very band which this thesis focuses on, it was difficult for me to gain a wider perspective than that of Banda Amistad. Perhaps my findings could be used in a comparative study between different Latin bands, and how they differ in their approach to the creation of fiestas (i.e. the use of set lists vs. "on the spot" song selection), or, how Latin bands approach different performance contexts (i.e. fiestas vs. bars).

A more ambitious project would be to compare and situate fiestas within a Canadian context. The case study of the Valentine fiesta demonstrated that the *comunidad Latina* uses the occasion to bring a sense of ideal community into existence. How are fiestas utilized and created in the different regions of Canada? Does the "sociability" factor always take precedence over the musical? Since there are so few Latin bands in Edmonton, there is little competition between them. Is this why the *comunidad Latina* has such a tolerance for a "mediocre" musical performance? In Toronto and Montreal there are a number of Latin bands which compete to perform at local clubs, and hence their playing/performance level could be considered somewhat superior to those musical groups found in Edmonton. How does this affect fiestas in such places?

At the very beginning, I stated that this thesis outlined my journies into the realm of the fiesta. I now realize that this was not a self-contained excursion. It was an expedition along a pathway; an expedition lead by Tilo Paiz and the other informants I met along the way. Additionally, I realize that I have not reached the end of my journey, but that I have only stepped off the path for the time being. As I look back at where I have been, and look forward to where I can go, I see that there were/are other "methods of travel" which could have brought forward different perspectives, if not different conclusions, than what was been presented here. I hope, and invite others to use my findings and bring forth new dimensions to the study of Latin-American popular music and the contexts which they create.

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APPENDIX A

Glossary of terms used by Tilo

acoplados - together as one unit; to become one with either the music or another person

afinación - a "fine tuning" of the band; "putting on the finishing touches"

ambiente - the energetic ambiance or atmosphere of the fiesta

big sound - Tilo's characteristic sound achieved through the combination of timbales and a traditional drum set

cachimbona - something that is *really* good

dead space - the lack of social interaction and musical sound between the performance of consecutive songs

enfiestarse - to "party" as one does at a fiesta

fiesta process - the total experience of attending a fiesta event

hablar claro - to speak plainly; to speak with "truth in the mouth"

jefe - chief or leader of the band

llamar la atención - to catch one's attention, to invite participation

positive mindset - the proper mental state one must be in to *enfiestarse*

presencia sin aguadar - presence without becoming watery; presence of strength; when used to describe Tilo's sound = "a solid sound"

rematar - to finish off; to get the rebound; when used to describe Tilo's sound = "punch"; i.e. "Tilo's playing has a lot of punch."

sabor - the flavour or style of the music or event

saque de quicio - to become unhinged; to lose one's patience

tocar con ganas - to play with an appetite/desire

la unir - "the joining"; not unlike *communitas* or a communal sharing in the fiesta experience